DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 384 394 JC 950 355

AUTHOR	Seabrook, John H., Ed.
TITLE	Community College Humanities Review, 1994.
INSTITUTION	Community Coll. Humanities Association.
PUB DATE	Dec 94
NOTE	130p.; For the 1992 issue, see ED 355 994.
AVAILABLE FROM	CCHA, Community College of Philadelphia, 1700 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, PA 19130 ($5).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Community College Humanities Review; v15 Dec 1994
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Community Colleges; Curriculum Development; Environmental Education; Greek Literature; History; *Humanities; *Humanities Instruction; *Interdisciplinary Approach; Music Theory; Religion Studies; Two Year Colleges; Writing Strategies

ABSTRACT

Designed as a forum for the exchange of ideas on significant issues in the humanities, this annual journal presents articles written by two-year college faculty in the humanities disciplines. The 1994 issue includes the following articles: (1) "Notes to a Lecture on Euripides' Medea: Medean Apolis," by Daniel Canney; (2) "The Holocaust Experience: A Continuing Priority," by Richard Kalfus; (3) "Across Three Thousand Years: Zoroastrianism and Modern Mormonism," by Mary Kay Solomon; (4) "The Missing Title Page: Dvorak and the American National Song," by John C. Tibbetts; (5) "Work and the Environment: Toward Reconciliation," by Robert Sessions; (6) "The Face of Nature: The Reemergence of a Green Man," by Hank Galmish; (7) "Discovering the Green Man," by Tom Motley; and (8) "Teaching Humanities Courses on the Environment: Pedagogical Suggestions and an Annotated Bibliography," by Robert Sessions. (KP)

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ED 384 394

COMMUNITY COLLEGE HUMANITIES REVIEW

December, 1994 Volume Fifteen

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The Community College Humanities Review is published annually by the Community College Humanities Association. Its purpose is to offer a forum for scholarly work which will provide readers with articles addressing issues of research, curriculum change, and developments within the humanities disciplines. By this means, the *Review* contributes to the growth and development of the community of humanities scholars nationally.

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Publisher:

Colby-McGowan Publishing Company
Elizabeth, New Jersey

Manuscripts for the *Community College Humanities Review* are welcome. Submissions should focus on issues consistent with the purposes of the journal and should be submitted to the Editor through the Community College Humanities Association office at the Community College of Philadelphia. Submissions should conform to the *Review* style. All will be acknowledged, and authors will be notified of the decision of the Editorial Board. The Editor reserves the right to make changes not affecting the substance of a submission. Authors will receive three reprints of their articles. Additional copies may be obtained from the CCHA office upon request: include a check payable to CCHA for $5.00, to cover costs.

CCHA wishes to acknowledge the support of the Community College of Philadelphia; Essex County College, Newark, N.J; and Richland College, Dallas, Texas.

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COMMUNITY COLLEGE HUMANITIES REVIEW

Volume Fifteen December, 1994

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of the CCHA *Humanist*, like those before it, displays the wide variety of interests and concerns of CCHA members and community college faculty around the nation. From Daniel Canney's *Notes to a Lecture on Euripides' Medea*, developed for a CCHA/NEH Summer Institute, to John Tibbet's article on Dvorak, from his presentation at a CCHA regional conference (and an enticement to read his book *Dvorak in America*), this issue offers articles to stimulate almost any reader's interest.

Special thanks go to Associate Editor Robert Sessions for his work here. Bob both edited the two articles on "The Green Man" and wrote his own very fine pieces in response to a request for articles on the Humanities and the environment. Readers will probably want to copy the lengthy bibliography Bob has developed, and those who might wish to explore the topics he raises should feel free to contact him at Kirkwood Community College.

John Seabrook

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NOTES TO A LECTURE ON EURIPIDES' *MEDEA*:

Medea Apolis

Daniel Canney

> "And what a life should I lead, at my age, wandering from city to city, ever changing my place of exile, and always being driven out!"
>
> —Socrates, *The Apology*

> "I am alone, I have no city."
>
> —*Medea*, 225.

To a fourth–century B.C. Athenian like Socrates, exile from his city was as untenable as the death penalty itself.To be without a *polis* meant much more than to be simply citiless. As Wickersham and Pozzi point out in the introduction to *Myth and The Polis*, "The *polis* is a state of mind, and that mind expresses itself in myth. The *polis* has its physical structure, its buildings and artifacts, and its natural features, but this body has a soul, and it is the myths that animate it" (2). For this reason, my thesis will be that Euripides' Medea, in relation to her need for *polis*, yearns not so much for a locale as for a concept; her need is for some place of permanence for a woman in fifth–century Hellenic culture.

Before we get into the play in question, there are two key Greek terms to clarify–*kyrios and oikos*. I must quote Roger Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life*, at length here:

> A girl's *kyrios* was in the first instance her father. If her father was dead, her homopatric brother or paternal grandfather acted as her *kyrios*. When she was married her husband became her *kyrios*. If she was widowed or divorced she returned to the charge of her original *kyrios*, if possible to be engaged in marriage by him to somebody else. . . . Two closely related aspects of this situation should be stressed, for not only did the law thereby make a woman

> incapable of asserting her own rights and acting as an adult individual in matters of any legal consequence, it also presumed that a woman . . . was always to be situated within a family or *oikos* under the guardianship of its head. Here it should be noted that the role of a *kyrios* entailed more than the supervision of women. The term *kyrios*, denoted the head of a household, an *oikos*, which comprised women, male minors, and property (including slaves). The *oikos* was, in short, the basic Athenian family unit. . . . Any change in a woman's status as a result of marriage, divorce or widowhood also resulted in a change in the person of her *kyrios*; but in each case the change also meant her incorporation into a new household or *oikos*, or her return to her natal *oikos*. Thus not only her social role, but her very legal identity, tied her to the family. She was always the member of an *oikos*, and always under the protection of whatever male was head of that *oikos*. (26–27)

The play's prologue is the Nurse's lament that her mistress Medea would not be in the rejected state she finds herself (where Euripides takes up her story) "if only she and Jason had never gone!" The Nurse's focus in this expository prologue is on the quest of Jason (Medea's husband-to-be) for the Golden Fleece. Jason and his argonauts have been sent on quest by Jason's uncle Pelias, who has usurped the young Jason's birthright rule of his Greek homeland of Iolcus. Jason is met by Medea when he ventures to Colchis; she falls in love with him and abets him in accomplishing her father's tasks—further hurdles to attaining the original quest. The old nurse speaks:

> If the Argo's hull never had winged out through the grey-blue jaws of rock/ And on toward Colchis! If that pine on Pelion's slopes/ Had never felt the axe, and fallen, to put oars/ Into those heroes' hands, who went at Pelias' bidding/ To fetch the golden fleece! Then neither would Medea,/ My mistress, ever have set sail for the walled town/ Of Iolcus, mad with love for Jason; nor would she,/ When Pelias' daughters, at her instance, killed their father./ Have come with Jason and her children to live here/ In Corinth; where, coming an exile, she has earned/ The citizens' welcome; while to Jason she is all/ Obedience—and in marriage that's the saving thing./ When a wife obediently accepts her husband's will. (Vellacott trans. 11.1–11)

Euripides' exposition does more than give the audience a point in time and place in the well-known plot of Medea's career; he also introduces a major motivation for Medea's coming tragedy—her homelessness.

The audience is familiar with Medea's actions in Colchis—her falling in love with Jason, her telling him how to outwit her father, King Aeetes, in performing the dangerous tasks he was set in order to earn the Golden Fleece, and her ensuring the Argonauts' escape by killing her little brother, Apsyrtus, and strewing his dismembered body in the wake of the Argo so that Aeetes would fall behind to retrieve his son's remains. Later, in Iolcus, Jason's home still ruled by his uncle Pelias, Medea again tried to help her husband's cause through subterfuge. She induced the daughters of Pelias to kill and chop up their father in hopes of restoring him to his youth in a broth she had whipped up. They do, and he was done. But the horror of the patricide only brought on the further exile of both Jason and Medea.[1] Euripides alludes to such earlier loss of life (a fratricide and a patricide) and loss of place (Colchis and Iolcus) to begin his own story of loss of place and life.

Later in her monologue, the old Nurse reports that her newly divorced mistress has been crying and talking to herself: "She turns away/ Her lovely head, speaks to herself alone, and wails/ Aloud for her dear father, her own land and home,/ Which she betrayed and left, to come here with this man/ Who now spurns and insults her. Poor Medea! Now/ She learns through pain what blessings they enjoy who are not/ Uprooted from their native land" (11. 28–34). In the prologue then, Euripides' emphasis is not so much on the degree of Medea's culpability as on her resultant state of rejection and isolation. It is that lack of belonging that elicits the Nurse's "Poor Medea!"

Eva Cantrella, in *Pandora's Daughters*, quotes an early speech of the title character and says of it, "Medea does not lament a personal unhappiness nor does she weep about her individual fate—speaking in the name of all women, for the first time in Greek literature, she rebels against the sufferings of the female condition" (68). The speech Cantrella comments on is Medea's famous first address to the women of Corinth, the chorus, after the old Nurse calls her mistress out from the house at the beginning of the play. Cantrella uses the translation of M. R. Lefkowitz:

> Of everything that breathes and has intelligence, we women are the most miserable creatures. For first of all we must by a vast expenditure of wealth buy a husband and take a master for our bodies. And this evil is more miserable than the other, and everything depends on whether we get a bad master or a good one. For it is not respectable for women to be divorced or possible to refuse one's husband. A woman

> must be a seer when she finds herself among new habits and customs, since she will not have learned at home how she can best deal with her husband. And if, after we complete our work well, our husbands live with us bearing the yoke of marriage without constraint, our lives are enviable. If they do not, death is imperative. For a man, when he is miserable living with those inside his home, goes outside and puts an end to his heart's longing. . . . But we must look to one soul alone. They say that we lead a life without danger at home, while the men go to war—but they are wrong: I would rather stand in the hoplite ranks three times than give birth once. (Cantrella 67)

Professor Bernard Knox observes, "It is clear from Medea's very first speech that this strange drama which uses Sophoclean heroic formulae to produce a most un-Sophoclean result, is grounded in the social reality and problems of its own time. There can be no doubt, to anyone who reads it without prejudice, that the *Medea* is very much concerned with the problem of woman's place in human society" ("The *Medea* of Euripides," 211). Professor Knox suggests an aspect of Euripides' style we must investigate. H. D. F. Kitto has said, "In the *Medea*, the background has been at times painfully prosaic. We have had a scene of bitter domestic strife in a setting of ordinary social life—children, nurses, curious neighbours, old men gossiping around the spring. Medea may be the granddaughter of Helios, but for all that we are dealing with ordinary life and never feel that the gods are within call" (*Greek Tragedy*, 200). On this same point of realism in Euripides, Richmond Lattimore observed, "Euripides was basically a realist, despite contrary tendencies toward fantasy and romance. The only materials available for his tragedies were the old heroic sagas. He used them as if they told the story not of characters heroic in all dimensions, but of real everyday people. From the high legends of Jason and Heracles he chose to enact the moments of the heroes' decay and disintegration" (*Euripides I* "Introduction," v-vi).

There are two important elements of background information to examine briefly before we focus on the *Medea* itself. First there is what we post-Enlightenment sorts might characterize as the peculiar way many Greeks in Euripides's day viewed the process of human reproduction. Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant present a number of fascinating readings in their source book, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*. Chapter VII, "Medicine," provides fourth-century B.C. selections by Aristotle and Hippocrates. Because their conclusions were dependent upon "observable phenomena and deduction by analogy, not human dissection

and clinical study." Aristotle and Hippocrates often sound less than sensible of this subject. In "On the Generation of Animals," Aristotle wrote, ". . . the male is that which has the power to generate in another . . . while the female is that which can generate in itself; i.e. it is that out of which the generated offspring, which is present in the generator, comes into being" (*Women's Life in Greece*, 82). To this passage, Lefkowitz and Fant add this interesting note: "*Cf.* Apollo's argument in Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 658–61, which helps win the case for Orestes: "'She who is called the child's mother is not its begetter, but the nurse of the newly sown conception. The begetter is the male, and she as a stranger for a stranger preserves the offspring, if no god blights its birth'" (trans. H. Lloyd-Jones *Women's Life in Greece* 98). It would be absurd to argue that Euripides himself shared those views or that the characters in his plays did, but I think it fair to say that some Greeks in audiences for *Medea*'s early performances might have held the assumption that a child is the result of its father's seed cast into the fertile female incubator. If that much is so, it is possible to see Medea's rationale in killing Jason's sons as the last full measure of her revenge on their begetter in a very different light than we today are wont to see it.

It is important, as well, to reemphasize the role of women in the Hellenic world as concerns its great literature. Sarah B. Pomeroy says in *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, "The literary evidence presents grave problems to the social historian. Women pervade nearly every genre of classical literature, yet often the bias of the author distorts the information. Aside from some scraps of lyric poetry, the extant formal literature of classical antiquity was all written by men. In addition, misogyny taints much ancient literature. . . . Tragedies have been examined to provide insight into the attitudes of particular poets toward women—in them the poet reveals his ideals and fantasies about women—but tragedies cannot be used as an independent source for the life of average women" (x). Still, we can see that we must learn what we can of "the life of average women" to understand as fully as we can this tragedy in Corinth, written in 431 B.C.

Moses Hadas has observed, "In his sympathy for all the victims of society, including womankind, Euripides is unique not only among the tragic poets but among all the writers of Athens" ("Introduction," *Ten Plays by Euripides*, viii).

As Page duBois notes, womenkind in Greece were isolated in the home: "The social practices of the Greeks led to the segregation of young women; they were brought into the closed space of the patriarchal family to avoid the overly endogamic practice of incest. Traded from one family to another to establish lines of connection between families, they insured the perpetuation of one family line in the polis. Yet the woman, as a sign of the

family's participation in the life of the city, in its practice of exchange, lived as a near exile within the house. That is why Medea's position as exile–wife is so clearly marked in the tragedy. She represents, in an extreme, exaggerated form the common fate of the Greek citizen woman" (*Centaurs and Amazons: Women in the Pre–History of the Great Chain of Being*, 115).

Roger Just would have us understand the sense in which women were citizens: "Women in Athens possessed no active political rights. They could neither speak nor vote in the *ekklesia*, the citizen assembly, nor could they attend its meetings. Further they were unable to hold any administrative or executive position within the secular organization of the state (including that of juror in the popular courts). In the Greek sense of the word, they were not citizens—in Aristotle's definition, participants in the offices and honours of the state. . . . No Greek state ever enfranchised women, and for the most part the general participation of women in politics has had to wait until the twentieth century" (*Women in Athenian Law and Life*, 13).

When one reflects upon the oppressed conditions of a woman's life in the fifth–century *polis*, he can read Professor Knox's judgment of *Medea* with added conviction: "Euripides is concerned in this play, not with progress or reform, but (just as in the *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae)* with the eruption in tragic violence of forces in human nature which have been repressed and scorned, which in their long–delayed breakout exact a monstrous revenge. The *Medea* is not about woman's rights; it is about woman's wrongs, those done to her and by her" ("The *Medea* of Euripides," 211).

Medea, in relation to her need for *polis*, yearns not so much for a locale as for a concept; her need in Euripides' play is for some place of permanence for a woman in fifth–century Hellenic culture

Of the Chorus, P. E. Easterling says, "They are peripheral figures whose role is not to do and suffer but to comment, sympathize, support or disapprove. The advantages of providing Medea with a sympathetic and understanding audience within the play far outweigh any loss of naturalism" ("The Infanticide in Euripides' *Medea*," 178–179). Emily A. McDermott, at one point in her perceptive study of this play, observes, "One thing which the chorus can often be assumed to reflect is the more literal–minded, unoriginal, and often questionable opinions, on both philosophical and moral questions, characteristic of fifth–century Athenians. Thus, in this play, the Chorus's reactions to the protagonists may be assumed to be generally reflective of 'normal' human reaction, as Euripides conceived it" (*Euripides' Medea: The Incarnation of Disorder*, 60).

From the moment of Medea's opening speech to the Chorus, she

wins its pity and ours: "I'd rather stand three times in the front line than bear/ One child. But the same arguments do not apply/ To you and me. You have this city, your father's home,/ The enjoyment of your life, and your friends' company./ I am alone; I have no city; now my husband/ Insults me. I was taken as plunder from a land/ At the earth's edge. I have no mother, brother, nor any/ Of my own blood to turn to in this extremity" (Vellacott trans, *Euripides' Medea and Other Plays*, 25, 11. 249–256). I am a woman, she says; I have been thrust out of my home. The Chorus is hooked. Medea makes her first small plea: "So, I make one request. If I can find a way/ To work revenge on Jason for his wrongs to me,/ Say nothing. A woman's weak and timid in most matters;/ The noise of war, the look of steel, makes her a coward./ But touch her right in marriage, and there's no bloodier spirit" (25, 11. 57–61). The spokeswoman of the Chorus immediately acquiesces: "I'll do as you ask. To punish Jason will be just./ I do not wonder that you take such wrongs to heart" (p.25, 11. 262–263). She is a woman. She has been rejected. She has no home.

The Chorus sings: "Medea, poor Medea!/ Your grief touches our hearts./ A wanderer, where can you turn?/ To what welcoming house?/ To what protecting land?/ How wild with dread and danger/ Is the sea where the gods have set your course!" (28, 11. 357–363).

Medea announces that "today three of my enemies I shall strike dead:/ father and daughter; and my husband" (28, 11. 376–377)

Creon and his daughter (sometimes identified as Glauce, but not named in the play) are, indeed, slain, but Medea's deep-delving revenge goes beyond her husband's mere murder. She considers several alternative means of disposing of her enemies, but then takes pause. Impunity involves sanctuary: "So, say they are dead: what city will receive me then?/ What friend will guarantee my safety, offer land/ And home as sanctuary? None. I'll wait a little" (Vellacott, (29, 11. 386–388).

Jason, in a sophistic way, argues that Medea ought to accept second-wife status and keep quiet: "You could have stayed in Corinth, still lived in this house,/ If you had quietly accepted the decisions/ Of those in power. Instead, you talked like a fool; and now/ You are banished" (30, 11. 549–552).

In her state of near-exile, Medea "waits a little." What she waits for is a place more kind than home: "Where now/ Can I turn? Back to my country and my father's house,/ Which I betrayed to come with you? Or to Iolcus,/ To Pelias's wretched daughters? What a welcome they/ Would offer me, who killed their father! Thus it stands:/ My friends at home now hate me; and in helping you/ I have earned the enmity of those I had no right/ To hurt. For my reward, you have made me the envy/ Of Hellene women everywhere!" (Vellacott trans. 11. 500–508). She continues her sarcastic speech: "A marvelous/ Husband I have, and faithful too, in the

name of pity;/ When I'm banished, thrown out of the country without a friend,/ Alone with my forlorn waifs. Yes, a shining shame/ It will be to you, the new-made bridegroom, that your own sons,/ And I who saved your life, are begging beside the road!" (32, 11. 508–513).

Medea's need for some place of escape is opportunely met in the arrival of King Aegeus of Athens, sojourning through Corinth on his way to Troezen to seek advice about his childlessness. No matter his *raison d'etre* in Corinth at that particular moment; he is a powerful walk-on. Medea describes Jason's cruel behavior, and Aegeus wants to help: "Have pity! I am an exile; let me not be friendless./ Receive me in Athens; give me a welcome in your house" (Vellacott *Medea*, 39, 11. 711–712). She is asking to join his *oikos*; she wants Aegeus to be her *kyrios*. Medea verbally coerces Aegeus into swearing he will grant her asylum from all pursuers. He swears. He adds the proviso that Medea must get herself to Athens; he does not want to get into diplomatic difficulties with Corinth; then he leaves. Medea says, "Help has appeared in this man Aegeus; he is a haven/ Where I shall find safe mooring, once I reach the walls/ Of the city of Athens. Now I'll tell you all my plans:/ They'll not make pleasant hearing" (Vellacott *Medea*, p. 41, LL. 769–772). The attentive reader can hear the echo of the earlier lines: "So—say they are dead: what city will receive me then?/ What friend will guarantee my safety, offer land/ And home as sanctuary? None. I'll wait a little" (Vellacott *Medea*, 29, 11. 386–388).

What Medea knows the Chorus will find unpleasant hearing is her plan to murder her children: "I will kill my sons./ No one shall take my children from me. When I have made/ Jason's whole house a shambles, I will leave Corinth/ A murderess, flying from my darling children's blood./ Yes, I can endure guilt, however horrible;/ The laughter of my enemies I will not endure" (Vellacott *Medea*, 41, 11. 789–794). The anticipated laughter of her enemies must be a powerful motivation for Medea. She again alludes to the determining factor when she wavers at the last-minute in her resolve to kill her sons: "What is the matter with me? Are my enemies/ To laugh at me? Am I to let them off scot free?/ I must steel myself to it. What a coward I am,/ Even tempting my own resolution with soft talk./ Boys, go indoors" (Vellacott *Medea*, 49, 11. 1048–1052).

Before Medea follows her boys in to stab them to death, she tells the Chorus, "If there is any here who finds it/ Not lawful to be present at my sacrifice,/ Let him see to it. My hand shall not weaken." But confusedly she immediately adds, "Oh, my heart, don't, don't do it! Oh, miserable heart,/Let them be! Spare your children! We'll all live together/ Safely in Athens; and they will make you happy. . . . No!/ No! No! By all the fiends of hate in hell's depths, no!/ I'll not leave sons of mine to be the victims of/ My enemies' rage" (Vellacott *Medea*, 549–50, 11. 1057–1061). Medea will fulfill her plan to kill her sons. Why she could not take them into Athens

with her has to do with her desire to injure Jason further, but a safe house for herself is an overriding concern.

When she initially apprises the audience of her intent to murder her children, she says, "Now let things take their course. What use is life to me?/ I have no land, no home, no refuge father's house, won over/ By eloquence from a Greek, whom with God's help I now/ Will punish. He shall never see alive again/ The sons he had from me. From his new bride he never/ shall breed a son; she by my poison, wretched girl,/ Must die a hideous death. Let no one think of me/ As humble or weak or passive; let them understand/ I am of a different kind: dangerous to my enemies,/ Loyal to my friends. To such a life glory belongs" (Vellacott *Medea*, 41–42, 11. 798–808). Medea views herself as rejected, exiled, but heroic; indeed, she will wield a terrible, swift sword.

The murder of her children, it becomes clear, is necessary in Medea's eyes because she has already determined to kill Jason's new wife, Creon's daughter. She knows the wrath of Corinth will resolve itself upon her children. To allow the princess of Corinth to become stepmother to her sons and thus not to avenge herself on Jason at all is not an option Medea will consider. She will destroy Jason's dream of *polis* and salvage what she can of her own dream of one.

"Friends, now my course is clear: as quickly as possible/ To kill the children and then fly from Corinth; not/ Delay and so consign them to another hand/ To murder with a better will. For they must die/ In any case; and since they must, then I who gave/ Them birth will kill them. Arm yourself, my heart; the thing/ That you must do is fearful, yet inevitable" (Vellacott *Medea*, 55, 11. 1236–1244).

Creon's daughter puts on the tiara and shawl that Medea had sent her after having steeped those gifts in a magical poison. The princess is consumed in horrible flames; her father falls upon her in an effort to extinguish the fire. But like molten plastic, the magical garment only involves him in death as well. Medea slays her sons. Jason returns to his former *oikos*. "I swear she must either hide in the deep earth/ Or soar on wings into the sky's abyss, to escape/ My vengeance for the royal house.—She has killed the King/ And the princess! Does she expect to go unpunished?" (Vellacott *Medea*, 57, 11. 1295–1298).[3] There is no vengeance for him to enact; Medea will "soar on wings into the sky's abyss.": "I've come to save my sons, before Creon's family/ Murder them in revenge for this unspeakable/ Crime of their mother's" (Vellacott *Medea*, 57, 11. 1306–1308).

Jason is destroyed. His new wife and father-in-law are dead; his hope of being the next king of Corinth is gone. His sons from his old marriage are dead. "Zeus the father of all/ Knows well what service I once

rendered you, and how/ You have repaid me. You were mistaken if you thought/ You could dishonour my bed and live a pleasant life/ And laugh at me" (Vellacott *Medea*, 59, 11. 1352–1356). "I've reached your heart; and that is right," Medea tells him (Vellacott *Medea*, 59, 1. 136–62).

Medea foresees the end of both of them: "I myself/ Will go to Athens, city of Erechtheus, to make my home/ With Aegeus son of Pandion. You, all you deserve,/ Shall die an unheroic death, your head shattered/ By a timber from the Argo's hull" (Vellacott *Medea* 60, 11. 1385–1389). "You murdered them," Jason mumbles incredulously. "Yes, Jason, to break your heart" (Vellacott *Medea* 60, 11. 1385–87 and 1401–02).

The concluding scene of this play deserves extended comment. Years ago, long before I had ever read Euripides, I saw a production of Robinson Jeffers' *Medea* and thought it wonderful. In recent years, I saw Zoe Caldwell's powerful interpretation of that same Jeffers' role. As good as that version is, the ending is all wrong. Even a tired old hero like Jason would enact some violence on Medea if he had physical access to her. The magic car of Helios is important to Euripides' conclusion.[4] Experientially, I believe Euripides fashioned an ending necessary to his play.

Emily McDermott sees Medea as an anomaly: "Medea the sorceress would have illimitable options open to her; Medea the wife is bound by the restraints of Euripides' society" (45). McDermott poses a good question: why did Medea have to wait until play's end to avail herself of her grandfather Helios's magical escape car? Why did she have to wait until "she finds Aegeus as surrogate male guardian" (45) before she committed her horrible revenge on her enemies? Presumably, her sons could have been alive as easily as dead in the chariot of the Sun. But Aegeus's oaths of protection did not extend to the children. And in the fifth-century society of Greeks, only male power figures were available for any sort of protection. We will come back to this issue of Medea's relation to the Sun god, but the chariot awaits.

Kitto claims,

> If we read the *Medea* as a character-study and no more, then it is difficult not to say that the Sun sends the magic chariot to rescue the dramatist from his plot rather than to save the murderess from vengeance. If however we judge it unlikely that Euripides was incapable of winding up the plot without a miracle, and if we have come to suspect that the play is more than the study of an exciting individual, and has a much wider field of reference, then we may judge differently of the chariot: it suggests that there is in the

> universe something elemental, even as Medea is elemental, which does not necessarily accord with what we ourselves think just and comforting. Misunderstanding of Euripides's use of the gods disables criticism (*Form and Meaning in Drama*, 76).

I believe that within the artificial framework of a drama few choices would be open to a playwright to anneal the female character from harm in a patriarchal society. Medea must be pulpitted for her final speech to Jason.

Professor Knox says, "The effect of this investment of Medea (her apotheosis as *theos*) with all the properties and functions of stage divinity must have been to bring home to the audience the conviction that Medea is not merely an individual woman wronged and revengeful; she is, at the end, a figure which personifies something permanent and powerful in the human situation, as Aphrodite clearly does, and Dionysos also" (Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," 209).

The most interesting aspect of the magical escape car, to me, is the fact that Medea has not availed herself of her Grandfather's help to get out of her difficulties earlier or, in this final instance, to go to some island like that of her Aunt Circe (sister to Aeetes, daughter of Helios), who had her own way of punishing males, by turning them into swine. Medea goes to Athens, not to some fantasy island. There is no mythic isle melodious—no permanent escape from problems of being mortal, of dealing with other men with total impunity. Euripides seems to be suggesting that democratic Athens, even if not the best of all possible worlds, is a place where social justice is at least possible.

"The powerful effect of this final scene," Easterling says, "depends on Euripides' use of the supernatural device of the dragon chariot, which transforms Medea's status from that of runaway criminal to something outside ordinary human experience. It is a bold dramatic experiment, but Euripides was justified in making it, granted that the effect could be adequately and not absurdly represented on the Greek stage. There has been criticism of the contrast between this very blatant use of the supernatural and the realistic tone of the rest of the action, but some kind of miraculous device was needed if Euripides was to contrive a final confrontation between Jason and Medea in which Medea should have her triumph" (Easterling 190).

Medea kills her sons and then gets away in her theogenic chariot. How else could a fifth-century female critic of patriarchal society survive? As Bernard Knox says, "In the play Euripides wrote, Medea has no magical powers at all: until she is rescued by the god Helios, and is herself transformed into some kind of superhuman being, she is merely a helpless betrayed wife and mother with no protection of any kind. She has only two

resources, cunning—and poison" (214).

Early on in the play, Medea told the Chorus, "This blow that has fallen on me/ Was not to be expected. It has crushed my heart./ Life has no pleasure left, dear friends. I want to die/ Jason was my whole life; he knows that well. Now he/ Has proved himself the most contemptible of men "(Vellacott *Medea*, 24 11. 224–228). So in the exodus the Chorus can chant, "Many are the Fates which Zeus in Olympus dispenses;/ Many matters the gods bring to surprising ends./ The things we thought would happen;/ The unexpected, God makes possible;/ And such is the conclusion of this story" (Vellacott *Medea*, 61, 11. 1415–1419). Life is volatile; nothing can be assumed about the future, neither at the start of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. when *Medea* was first produced, or now, for that matter.

Gilbert Murray noted early in this century, "At the close of the *Medea*, I actually find myself longing for a *deus ex machina*, for some being like Artemis in the *Hippolytus* or the good Dioscuri of the *Electra*, to speak a word of explanation or forgiveness, or at least leave some sound of music in our ears to drown that dreadful and insistent clamour of hate. The truth is that in this play Medea herself is the *dea ex machina*" (x).

What better way is there to conclude our consideration of the chariot of the Sun than to return to these words of Bernard Knox:

> She is, at the end, a figure which personifies something permanent and powerful in the human situation, as Aphrodite clearly does, and Dionysos also. These two were Olympian deities, worshipped in state cult and portrayed in temple sculpture, but the Greek imagination created many other *Theoi*, was apt, in fact, to see a *theos* in every corner (209).

I can wrap up my thoughts about *Medea* now. G. E. M. de Ste. Croix has observed: "In Classical Athens I would see the class position of a citizen woman belonging to the highest class as largely determined by her sex, by the fact that she belonged to the class of women, for her father, brothers, husband and sons would all be property owners, while she would be virtually destitute of property rights, and her class position would therefore be greatly inferior to theirs" (*The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 100).

"By the very fact of her presence in the city, by her violence, her female, bestial, barbarian nature," duBois says, "Medea exemplifies the eruption of difference within the family, within the *polis*, among the Hellenes" (duBois 118). Medea is an alien in her *polis* even before she is divorced by Jason and exiled by Creon. She forcefully enacts the same

conditions on her husband's existence by play's end.

Medea's murder of the children is the focal point of this whole tragedy; her strong desire for *Polis* controls the timing of her vengeance. Knox notes that "Medea's more exquisite revenge is to leave Jason alive and alone amid the ruin of his hopes for his sons and his marriage" (208). Easterling observes, "Medea is trying to achieve the punishment of Jason; the death of the princess and Creon is not enough, because through her children Medea can still be hurt or insulted (by the 'laughter of her enemies'), if **they** are hurt or insulted. With them alive and in his care Jason can still look to the future through them" (186–187).

Our pity is elicited by the grave injustice Medea suffers when Jason rejects her as his chief wife in favor of Creon's daughter, the princess of Corinth. Our pity is intensified when Medea is exiled.[1] Our fear, or terror, is in reaction to Medea's own reaction to her felt injustice—as she enacts her horrible revenge. Her human hunger to end her homelessness is what makes her real to us in spite of the necessary stage prop of the dragon-car. Professor Knox: "Medea is a woman: no matter how great her gifts, her destiny is to marry, bear and raise children, go where her husband goes, subordinate her life to his. Husband, children, this is all she has, and when Jason betrays her the full force of that intellect and energy which has nowhere else to go is turned against him" (224).

Jason was her *polis*; their *oikos* was her world. No *oikos*, no *polis*: that simple. Jason had to be stripped of all sense of *oikos* and the promise of rule in his own *polis* before Medea could consider his loss anything like her own. Medea's expressed desire for haven may be appreciated by a modern audience. But **what** Medea says of her need for some new place of stability is not as important as **why** she says it. There are cobwebs of cultural assumptions behind her aim to rectify her condition of being without a *polis*. It is the myth surrounding the physical reality of place, the legal and extra-legal trappings of *oikos*, *Kyrios*, and property rights relevant to the lives of women in fifth-century Greece which form a nexus we must work to understand in Euripides' drama.

NOTES

[1]Just, Roger. *Women in Athenian Law and Life*. New York and London: Routledge, 1991, offers a note of some interest here: "The nature of Medea's crimes should be recalled. She betrays her father Aietes. She kills her half-brother, Apsyrtos. She beguiles Pelias' daughters into slaying their own father. She murders Jason's bride and father-in-law. She kills her

own children. She attempts to poison Aigeus's son, Theseus. Motivated by passion, aided by magic, Medea thus lays waste every household within which she is situated and every society with which she has contact" (268). That, of course, is not the focus Euripides took when he reshaped the mythic stories.

[2]Lefkowitz and Fant observe, "Study of the human cadaver made Hellenistic doctors, like Herophilus of Alexandria, better able to understand female anatomy; the results of such scientific advance is represented in the work of Soranus in the first century A. D." (81).

[3]It is pertinent to note that Jason also did a lot of swearing of oaths to Medea when he took her to wife in Colchis. Medea is heard by the Chorus praying to the goddess of Oaths, Themis: "She invokes Themis, daughter of Zeus,/ Who witnessed those promises which drew her/ Across from Asia to Hellas" (Vellacott, 23, 11. 207–209).

[4]Collard observes that of the nineteen surviving tragedies of Euripides, eight of them have an ending Euripides favored— the *deus ex machina*. From internal evidence, Collard dates those plays in the following order: *Hippolytus* (428), *The Suppliant Women* (423), *Electra* (before 415), *Iphigenia at Taurus* (before 412), *Helen* (412), *Orestes* (408), *The Bacchae* (after 406), and the spurious *Rhesus*. Earlier yet than these is *Medea* (431), though in its case the air-borne machine is occupied by Medea rather than a god.

[5]In *Existentialism and Euripides*, author William Sale looks beyond the title character to focus on Jason in relation to the search-for-home theme. "For our Jason, the only meaning of the past has been exile; the only purpose now to find a home. His quest for fixity looks in [different] directions. . ., [but] the simplest form of fixity is **geographical**: homeland and home. . . . there is nothing to be wondered at in Jason's effort to make his home in Corinth now that his native Iolcus is denied him" (14). Certainly Medea's "simplest form of fixity is **geographical**" too once her *oikos* is disrupted and she is exiled from the *polis* of Corinth. But there is a distinct difference in their search for home. Jason had a home with Medea. He seeks power in joining the family of the King of Corinth. Medea seeks self-preservation.

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THE HOLOCAUST EXPERIENCE: A CONTINUING PRIORITY

Richard Kalfus

I grew up in New York City, the son of German Jewish immigrants who, in 1938, managed to escape from Hitler's Germany. I grew up with the Holocaust experience, as early as I can recall, casting a menacing shadow over my childhood. Twice a year my mother would light a *Jahrzeit* (memorial candle) in memory of her parents, the grandparents whom I never got to know, and the parents whom my mother, an only child, never saw again after immigrating to the United States. My grandparents were transported from the small town of Bretten in southwestern Germany to the Gurs Concentration Camp in southern France, near the city of Pau at the foot of the Pyrenees. They were murdered there in 1940. While lighting the candles in memory of her parents, my mother would cry bitterly, but wanting to spare my brother and me the painful details of their death, she would speak very little about it (a rather typical reaction for Holocaust survivors). While she may have spared us the details of Nazi atrocities, her sense of loss was passed on to us. She built an overprotective environment for her children in which one had to always be vigilant, never trusting strangers. It was an environment in which one anticipated the negative first (for me the glass was always half empty). A *leitmotif* for my growing-up years in Manhattan was the advice of my mother to "never be a witness." If there is trouble in the streets, look the other way and get out. I remember wanting to help a man lying drunk in the gutter on my own street and being warned by my mother not to pay any attention; one never could be certain if the man was not carrying a knife or gun and would turn on you. I'm ashamed of this. Yet, at the same time I am aware that my mother's anxiety was the result of having lost her parents so tragically, of having lived in Nazi Germany, where, when she was 23, the 1935 Nuremberg Laws defined who a Jew was: a 1/4 Jew, a 1/2, a "full-fledged Jew"; where certain park benches and drinking fountains were designated **not for Jews**; where Jewish students were barred access to most professional schools and universities. While I can rationalize the "never be a witness" warning, I am still ashamed of it. I remember feeling both

sadness and profound shame at the death years ago of Kitty Genovese, who was stalked by an assailant in and around her New York apartment building. Her frantic screams for help were heard by many neighbors but no one came to her rescue.

On a more positive note, I believe my involvement in Holocaust education and my interest today in encouraging social involvement and commitment among my students is a way of overcoming this sense of shame. The haunting question I ask myself and the one students studying the Holocaust should ask themselves is: "What would I have done, had I lived in Nazi Germany? Would I have been a passive bystander or an active protester against racial prejudice and racial violence? Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, seemed to speak directly to me when, in a recent television interview, he said that the main lesson to be learned from the Holocaust was that one had to take a stand against any form of indifference to human suffering (*Oprah*. NBC. December 15, 1993).

I have been teaching a course on the Nazi Holocaust and doing research in Holocaust education since 1976. The subject remains as relevant as ever; in fact, tragically, it seems to become more relevant every year. While preparing for my course each spring, I am again reminded of the words of Elie Wiesel: "Nothing has been learned. Auschwitz has not served as a warning. For more detailed information consult your daily newspaper" (Wiesel 15). What I have found over the years, and continue to find, is not encouraging. Here are some examples: frenzied, violent crowds in the streets of Teheran mesmerized by the racist ideology of the Ayatollah; Iranian university campuses turned into boot camps with enthusiastic students brandishing guns (reminiscent of German university students and Hitler Youth demonstrations of the 30's); chemical warfare waged against the Kurds by the Iraqi forces of Saddam Hussein; "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia; racially motivated violence in Germany where unemployed, disenchanted youth cry "Auslander raus" (foreigners out); and, in France, hostilities aimed at foreign workers, encouraged by ultra-conservative politicians like Jean Marie Le Pen who, in 1988, made this comment: "I do not say that the gas chambers did not exist. I could not see them. But I think it is a minute detail (*'un point de detail'*) of second World War history" (*Hitler's Apologists* 44).

America has her share of Holocaust revisionists and neo-Nazi hate groups. One group periodically publishes anti-Semitic advertisements in university student newspapers. The Ayran Nation, located in Utah, uses the technology of the computer age to build a data bank with names of like-minded people and organizations. With the Nazi mania for statistics, for keeping detailed records of the Jewish populations to be annihilated, we can easily imagine how even more efficient they could have been, had

the computer been available to them. Without one, the Nazis all too successfully employed the tools of modern technology and the bureaucracy of a modern nation in an attempt to carry out a policy of annihilation of every Jewish person in Europe. A study of the Holocaust must include a study of the Nazi concept of *Gleichschaltung* (synchronization). Every segment of society was synchronized in an all out effort to accomplish genocidal objectives. If one pictures the goose-stepping precision marching of the Nazi storm troopers and Hitler Youth, one has a concrete image of *Gleichschaltung*. Who then was synchronized? The following examples illustrate how all segments of German society were involved: chemists perfected the Zyclon B gas to be used in the gas chambers; engineers designed the gas chambers and cremation ovens; middle managers bid for contracts to construct the ovens by extolling the "effectiveness, durability and faultless workmanship" of their company's product (Shirer 1265); bankers and financial consultants confiscated, cataloged, and redistributed Jewish property; railway officials negotiated with the SS to transport Jewish prisoners to concentration camps (children under 5 traveled for half fare!); a new breed of civil servant, working in the newly established "Bureau of Jewish Affairs," helped determine who would be "relocated to the East"; and physicians conducted "scientific" experiments on concentration camp prisoners.

Genocide did not end in 1945. An analysis of genocides and closely-related forms of mass killing since 1945 found forty-four "episodes" of genocidal violence that, collectively, took the lives of between seven and sixteen million people (Dobkowski 121). Will an accurate account of human suffering be enough to make the human race become more tolerant and develop an aversion to absolute violence? Certainly not! Executioners are as fascinating as victims; evil attracts interest as much as good does. According to French novelist Marek Halter, **Memory** can justify and explain a prohibition, but cannot replace it (Halter 38). Memory is a boundary marker, a **teaching**. We have the responsibility of maintaining it for that purpose, **not** as a complaint or an accusation, but as a **didactic reference** (38). The Holocaust is such a reference point for modern society. Saying "love thy neighbor," comments Halter, is not enough to make evil disappear (38). To be effective, this precept must be accompanied by another one; "thou shalt not kill." And the prohibition must be accompanied by **sanctions**. Every organized society has an arsenal of laws to be enforced without exception or delay at the first sign of their violation. The words of Richard von Weizsacker, the former West German President, have special meaning: "The Weimar Republic did not fall because there were too many Nazis, but because there were too few democrats" (38). The 1933 Enabling Law, which granted Hitler dictatorial rights, was passed by parliament.

The overwhelming majority of Germans today are true democrats and, while violent anti-foreigner demonstrations exist, we must not forget that there are also thousands of citizens taking to the streets to demonstrate **for** democracy and **against** anti-foreigner hostility. But the German commitment to democracy must be reaffirmed on a daily basis. When we begin to hear racial epithets directed at foreigners, when the "concept" of a foreigner, of a Turk, for example, is enough (as was the case in the concept of the Jew) to conjure up a whole array of stereotypical images (lazy, dirty, ignorant, violent), then we are in danger of demonizing the outsider, of dehumanizing the individual. We are once again in Nazi Germany. One of the most insidious techniques for dehumanizing an opponent is the manipulation of language. It is easier to destroy an enemy whom one perceives as subhuman; dehumanization dramatically reduces inhibitions against killing by destroying moral concerns and empathy. The Jews were thus perceived as vermin, as a bacteria, as a disease, destroying the otherwise healthy body of the German nation. They became **objects** which had to be eliminated. Within Primo Levi's first moments as a Nazi prisoner, so eloquently depicted in his memoir, *Survival in Auschwitz*, he is no longer a human being; he and his fellow prisoners are herded together and inventoried like cargo: "How many pieces?," demands the SS officer, in the first of hundreds of roll calls to which the Jewish prisoners will be subjected (12). In a typical memorandum describing the malfunctioning of certain gas vans used for killing Jewish prisoners, not one word mentions the victims. They are referred to as **pieces**, as **merchandise**, as a **load** (Kalfus 88).

Mass annihilation had created its own euphemistic language. The plans for the murder of the Jews was called the **Final Solution**; deportation to the death camps was code-named **evacuation** or **relocation** to the east; the actual killing became known as **special action** or **treatment**; the trains of cattle cars filled with victims were simply referred to as **special trains.** The Nazis were not alone in the bureaucratic inventiveness of their euphemisms: In World War II, deliberate fire bombing of cities crowded with civilians was known as **strategic bombing** and the specific attacks on neighborhoods filled with German factory workers, which killed thousands of women and children, was intended, in the official jargon, to **de-house** those workers; during the Vietnam War, forcible movement of Vietnamese from countryside to cities was called **pacification** and **hosing down**, or **zapping** a village meant killing. In the 1991 Persian Gulf conflict, euphemistic language managed to "sanitize" killing: bombing raids were called **sorties**, inadvertent killing of civilians was **collateral damage**, bombs of various kinds were referred to as **ordinances**; and accidental killing of American and British soldiers by their fellow countrymen was **death by friendly**

fire.

To study the Nazi genocide, to learn how to relate to its victims, its victimizers, its bystanders demands a new vocabulary of annihilation. The "choice-less choices" of this history of human behavior in extremity do not reflect the options between right and wrong but between one form of abnormal response and another. Working with the staff of the St. Louis Center for Holocaust Studies, I have edited a series of video testimonies of St. Louis Holocaust survivors. As often as I see and listen to these tapes, I am struck by the powerlessness of the normal vocabulary of reason and choice to relate the events of the Holocaust. One of the survivors interviewed, Ann Lenga (she was 12 years old in Auschwitz), tells us that she and her friend, who were exposed to death daily, would occasionally **play** with dead bodies; one would grab the feet, another the arms and fling the body as far as possible. I want to stop the tape and yell: "Don't think Ann is callous and indifferent!" In order to emotionally distance herself from the horrors of reality, she had to invent this "game" (the psychological term is "automatization of the ego"). And when Leslie Illies, a Mathausen survivor, mentions that he observed cannibalism, we may shudder with revulsion but we cannot pass judgment. According to Holocaust scholar Lawrence Langer, we must "allow the sheer integrity of the narrative and the stubborn honesty of the narrator to forge before our eyes an ethical designation" (Langer 26). When I recognize that our survivors are aging and soon will not be here to tell their story, I find confirmation of my efforts to capture their story on tape and confirmation in my resolve to continue teaching about the Holocaust. The task of remembering the Holocaust must fall to a new generation. It is a hopeful sign that the Holocaust Museum in Washington has received more requests for visits this year than it can accommodate. But in contrast to this, we have the results of a recent poll: One out of 3 adults and almost half of all high school students do not know the meaning of the word Holocaust (*Oprah*, December 15, 1993).

The Holocaust, according to philosopher Hannah Arendt, has brought into the world a radical evil characterized by its divorce from all humanly comprehensible motives of wickedness. Elie Wiesel was present at the 1961 trial in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann—the SS officer responsible for the transportation of millions of Jews and other "undesirables" to concentration camps. Wiesel expected to meet an insane man, foaming at the mouth; instead, he found a rational man, a bureaucrat who calmly, almost matter-of-factly, discussed his involvement in the Holocaust. Here was living proof of what Hannah Arendt called the "banality of evil." With pride in being a dedicated civil servant, Eichmann described his work:

> I did not take on the job as a senseless exercise. It gave me uncommon joy, I found it fascinating to have to deal with these matters....My job was to catch these enemies and transport them to their destination...I lived in this stuff, otherwise I would have remained only an assistant, a cog, something soulless (Bauer 207).

Evil could elevate the soul; a new concept of morality was born. How does one explain that intelligent, educated people were active participants in genocide?— that seven of the thirteen men present at the Wannsee Conference of January 30, 1942, which outlined plans for the "final Solution" of the Jewish problem, had Ph.D's? How does one explain the role of the medical doctor in the concentration camp? With a pointed finger, he could determine life or death. How does one explain that the physicians who participated in the Nazi euthanasia policy begun in 1939, became the professionals, the **experts** called upon to staff the concentration camps and conduct medical experiments on inmates in the name of science? How can we explain the ability of a doctor at Auschwitz to discuss in his diary, in the same paragraph, the witnessing of several *Sonderaktionen* (those special killings of prisoners in front of open pits) and the quality of the sausage he had for dinner or the soap flakes he had just been issued? (Dimsdale 331) And how do you explain that German school children learned math by computing how much money could be saved by getting rid of "useless eaters" in state institutions? (Focke 89) Could everyone have been insane? We have at our disposal, thanks to the Nazi preoccupation with detail, "artifacts", primary source documents which give testimony to the slick organizational machinery at work in Nazi Germany. We may shake our heads in disbelief at the seemingly insane behavior of Nazi functionaries, but it is only when we study the bureaucratic organization in Nazi Germany that we discover how it was possible for so many "normal" individuals to participate in the annihilation policy of National Socialism.

There are essentially four features of bureaucratic organizations which can promote the efficiency of modern genocide and enable individuals to carry out their tasks with a minimum of questioning or doubt. These four features are: hierarchical authority, division of labor, amoral rationality, and organizational loyalty (Dobkowski 126). They were all present in Nazi Germany. Hierarchical authority, for example, enabled people at lower levels to have a reduced sense of personal responsibility. They were, after all, only following orders. Rudolf Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz, wrote in his autobiographical account: "Outsiders simply cannot understand that there was not a single SS officer who would disobey an order" (167). Division of labor involved the

breaking down of complex tasks into compartmentalized sub-tasks. The individual typically focused on a particular task without considering the wide implications, including broader moral issues. One **only** drove the trucks, another **only** directed the trains, another **only** sat at a desk making dispositions, and another **only** shoved the bodies in (Dicks 262). Amoral rationality concerned itself with the best means of attaining a particular goal or completing a given task while ignoring moral or human implications. The results of Stanley Milgram's famous experiment on the relationship between obedience and authority are not encouraging: "...even when the destructive effects of their work becomes patently clear...incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority" (Dicks 261). Finally, organizational loyalty refers to the tendency for members of a bureaucratic organization to become preoccupied with maintaining and expanding their particular organization as an end in itself. This behavior can be observed in the expert way Albert Speer ran the Armaments Ministry: his efficiency and effectiveness as an upper-level manager made it possible for Germany to continue the war for at least 18 months longer, even though ultimate defeat was certain.

While not every community college may be able to offer a semester-length course devoted to the Holocaust, it is certainly possible to incorporate a Holocaust unit in many existing courses: English Composition, Literature, Ethics, Psychology, History, Political Science, and General Science. The high quality and abundance of material available on Holocaust education makes it relatively easy for an instructor to find reading and discussion material appropriate to his/her knowledge base, interest, and overall course objectives. Following are some suggestions that have worked well for colleagues at Meramec and other community colleges. Elie Wiesel's *Night*, *The Fifth Son* and Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz* are all linguistically accessible and emotionally powerful works which can be read in most college level English courses. The short stories, *The German Refugee* by Bernard Malamud and *The Law* by Hugh J. Nissenson both eloquently discuss the painful readjustment to life **after** the Holocaust.

For those literature instructors wishing to introduce their students to Holocaust poetry, I would suggest the collected works of Paul Celan, most notably his grotesque, riveting poem *Death Fugue* as well as the poem *Numbers* by Nelly Sachs. An innovative colleague in an Illinois community college Business English course has even included sample business correspondence written between industry managers, engineers, scientists and Nazi officials. For Ethics and Psychology instructors, I would suggest viewing the video based on Stanley Milgram's well-known experiment at Yale University on *Obedience* in conjunction with a reading

of excerpts from the autobiography of Auschwitz Commandant, Rudolf Hoess (e.g. there are many poignant passages on a soldier's responsibility towards authority) Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* and Erich Fromm's essay *Malignant Aggression: Adolf Hitler, A Clinical Case of Necrophilia* give great insight into man's potential for aggressive behavior. Political Science and History teachers who wish to emphasize the process of decision-making within crisis situations would be well served by selecting readings from the text *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior* by Margot Stern Strom and William Parsons. For science teachers a number of primary source documents on Nazi marriage laws and the principles of breeding would give students a good concept of the important role which science education played in promoting racism and anti-Semitism among Germany's youth: The 1935 Nuremberg Racial Laws which defined who a Jew was; excerpts from elementary and secondary school biology curricula; essays by racial theorists Alfred Rosenberg, Hans Gunther, and R. W. Darre.

When students study National Socialism—racism, dehumanization, and the synchronization of an entire society, they make critical connections to the study of human rights which is relevant to individual choice today. We all must ask the question: "What would I have done?" Would I have been the *Mitlaufer*?—a term coined after the war by the Allies to designate the average, relatively harmless, German citizen and follower of Nazism. Would I have been among the crowd of bystanders watching my neighbor hauled off to concentration camp? What appears most frightening about today's violence against foreigners in Germany is the passive crowds of people who silently watch these acts of violence and by watching and not protesting, become participants themselves. Our post Nazi Holocaust world must take as a mandate those eloquent words of German pastor and Holocaust survivor, Martin Niemoller:

> In Germany, they first came for the Communists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me - and by that time no one was left to speak up
>
> (ACLU Liberties 1).

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ACROSS THREE THOUSAND YEARS: ZOROASTRIANISM AND MODERN MORMONISM

Mary Kay Solomon

I teach Humanities 121, 122, and 123. In three semesters, these cover all the art, literature, and music of the world, as well as surveying much of its history and philosophy. While some students are fascinated by this Cook's Tour through civilization, others are frustrated or even bored. They don't see the point. How will knowledge of Egypt's Old, Middle and New Kingdoms help them find a more lucrative job? These ancient cultures seem far removed from their world and interests, so I am always searching for ways to nurture their waning interest in the ancient world. Relating some striking parallels between the ancient Zoroastrian faith of Persia and modern Mormonism, a faith with which they all seem to be somewhat familiar, has ensnared the interest of many of these reluctant students.

From 1976 to 1978, my ex-husband and I taught English as a Second Language in Iran, to the pilots and technical students of the Shah's Imperial Air Force. As I became immersed in Iranian culture, I became fascinated with Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes. I am a Mormon by birth; Mormonism, or the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, is very much a contemporary and American religion. As I studied the tenets and history of Zoroaster, though, a striking number of parallels with Mormon thought and symbolism emerged.

There are obvious and superficial similarities: both religions claim to be founded by prophets; the practice of both has centered in desert regions; both are eschatological, savior-centered religions. The differences are just as obvious: Zoroastrianism originated probably around 600 B.C. among the eastern Persian tribes, the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Bactrians, grouped loosely into a federation. Mormonism originated in the 1830s in western New York, moving into the western states and territories of the United States in the mid-1800s.

Five historical and theological parallels have intrigued me and many of my students: 1) similarities between the prophetic callings and experience of Joseph Smith and Zoroaster; 2) the doctrine concerning a preexistence and the creation of the world; 3) the explanation of, and emphasis on, the

struggle between good and evil, 4) the eschatology — the ends of existence, both for each individual and for the community, even for the creation as a whole; and 5) the importance of purity in both religions, influencing similarities in symbolism, particularly the symbolism of fire and the color white.

Zoroaster has been called the "first theologian." (Zoroaster is the Greek, and probably most familiar, name for the Persian prophet Zarathustra.) Though there is uncertainty about Zoroaster's actual dates, Zoroastrian tradition held that he lived 258 years before Alexander sacked Persepolis in 330 B.C. Some modern scholars disagree, finding clues in the *Gathas* (early hymns ascribed to the prophet) that Zoroaster lived in the late Bronze age pastoral society, around 1200 B.C (Boyce 11). For this discussion, I will follow the more traditional dates indicated by Zoroastrian tradition.

Accounts disagree about Zoroaster's birth place and dates, but several accounts associate him with the ancient settlement of Rhages, now Rey, a suburb of Teheran. Zoroaster eventually found his first converts among the eastern tribes of Soghdians, Bactrians, and Chorasmians, joined in a loose federation ruled by the Chorasmian king Vishtaspa. Zoroaster joined the court of Vishtaspa (sometimes called Hystaspes) and is supposed to have converted the King some ten years after his first vision. Soon thereafter Zoroaster began preaching. He was a man of wealth, with lands and livestock, a wife and children. One of his daughters married King Vishtaspa. Zoroaster lived 77 years; by this traditional dating, he would have been born around 623 and died about 546 B.C.

After his death, as Zoroastrianism grew ever more influential, legends formed around Zoroaster. Supposedly, nature rejoiced at his birth, and devils (identified as the earth spirits of the former nature religion) gnashed their teeth and hid. He was reported to have been born laughing and to have conversed face-to-face with the supreme god, Ahura Mazda, and his angels.

Zoroastrianism, in its first epoch, was practiced in some form by Cyrus the Great, Darius, Cambyses, and Xerxes; their rule in the Achaemenian period (c. 550 - 440 B.C.) unified the Medes, the Persians, and the eastern tribes in Zoroastrianism as an official faith — although they extended religious tolerance to the countries they conquered. They eventually were replaced by the Arsacids from northeastern Iran (141 B.C. - 224 A.D.), who also upheld the Zoroastrian faith as the state religion. The Sassanians supplanted the Arsacid dynasty (224 A.D. - Moslem conquest), in a well-known epoch during which the royal family continued Zoroastrian as the imperial faith. This was also a time of theological change, with the dualistic doctrine of good and evil struggling as equal powers replacing the monotheism of Zoroaster.

What authentic sources about Zoroastrianism remain? The original Zoroastrian sacred records consist of the Avesta and Pahlavi books. The Avesta is the most ancient and authoritative in documenting the practices and beliefs of the early religion. Its documents cover a period beginning around the late 7th century B.C. and ranging into the 3rd century B.C. The extant Avesta is only a fraction of the original collection, which, sacred and treasured, was written in gold ink on ox hides in the royal library and also held safe in men's memories, according to Zoroastrian tradition. Fortunately so, since the royal library and the sacred documents were destroyed by the forces of Alexander the Great.

The *Yanna*, the oldest and most sacred part of the Avesta, consists of the *Gathas*, six hymns of praise ascribed to the prophet Zoroaster himself, as well as a collection of prayers and liturgical patterns. The *Viparad*, a supplementary volume of prayers, praise for Ahura Mazda, and descriptions of divinity and of seasonal holidays, is also part of the Avesta, as is the *Videvdat*, the "Law Against Demons" which is concerned with ritual purity. Internal evidence suggests that the *Videvdat* was compiled later than the other books of the Avesta.

Other early sacred texts dating slightly after the Avesta but earlier than the rest of Zoroastrian documents, are the *Yashts* , auxiliary devotionals and recitations usually combined with the *Khadeh Avesta* (or little Avesta). The Pahlavi books, approximately fifty-five scriptural records of the Sassanian period, were mostly written between the 3rd and the 9th centuries A.D., reflecting some later theological views. Among the Pahlavi books is an important work, the *Bundahishn*, which begins with a cosmogony, then continues to describe the creation of the terrestrial world, periods of earthly time, and the original conflict between good and evil.

The Ahunavaiti Gatha (Yasna 28-34) reveals that Zoroaster was trained to be a priest in the old religion but left home at age 20 to seek the truth. He sought to learn the *Vohu Manah*, the right mind, and thus prepared himself for a spiritual vision. Ten years later, probably around 588 B.C., his quest culminated in a revelation. According to tradition, as he fetched water from a nearby river for a sacred ritual, the archangel Vohu Manu met him and led him to the presence of Ahura Mazda and the Five Immortals, where he was taught the principles of the true religion. This vision was repeated a number of times, and Zoroaster's calling invested him with a mission to spread this truth (Nigosian 11-12).

Mormons believe that a similar revelation was made to an American nineteenth-century prophet, who had also prepared himself for such a message and was seeking truth. Joseph Smith lived in Palmyra Township, New York, at a time of great religious tumult. His family members had been divided by the claims of conflicting religion. As a young man of fifteen, in 1820, Smith read James 1:5 in the New Testament: "If

any of ye lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not and it shall be given him." He said,

> Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did... At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is ask of God. (Allen and Leonard 26)

Smith retired to the woods near his home to pray and was granted a vision of two radiant beings held in a pillar of light. God the father and Jesus Christ, the two beings, forgave him his sins, enlightened him concerning the nature of salvation and eternal life, yet warned him against joining any existing church.

For about three years, Joseph returned to his usual daily labor with his father, then on the evening on Sept. 21, 1823, retiring to bed, he prayed intensely for knowledge of his responsibilities. Moroni, an archangel clothed in brilliant whiteness, appeared to tell him that God had a mission for him which included translating "the fullness of the everlasting gospel" from golden records deposited by an early American civilization. The angel quoted scriptures from Isaiah, Malachi and Joel, and revealed a vision of the location of the plates. He cautioned Smith to follow only the path of truth and God in fulfilling this mission, then disappeared. Twice more the same night, Moroni appeared and repeated the revelation in exactly the same way, the last time adding a few more words of caution to the point that the record was not to be brought for gain, but to bring forth "light of intelligence" (Lucy Mack Smith 75–78).

These three elements — an angel responding to a search for truth, the repetition of the vision to impress it on the prophet's mind, the emphasis on the right way and purity of desire — are common to the initial visions of both these prophets.

The reality and importance of the struggle between good and evil were impressed on Joseph Smith's mind the first time he attempted to obtain the plates of record. Having recognized the location in the vision, Joseph found the plates and some other materials buried in a stone box on a hill not far from Palmyra. But when he tried to take them, the angel Moroni appeared to prevent him, warning him that his mind and intentions were not yet pure. "Another vision was revealed to him, in which he beheld both 'the glory of the Lord' and 'the Prince of Darkness' surrounded by an 'innumerable train of associates.' Moroni emphasized to him, 'All this

is shown, the good and the evil, the holy and impure, the glory of God and the power of darkness, that you may know hereafter the two powers and never be influenced or overcome by that wicked one" (Allen & Leonard 33). The emphasis on purity and balancing the powers of good and evil are closer to Zoroaster's ancient search than to 19th century American revival Christianity.

In *The American Religion*, Harold Bloom notes Mormonism's spiritual affinity to the ancient world while insisting on its American and very untraditionally Christian nature: "[Mormonism has] the same relation to Christianity that Christianity had to Judaism, or that Islam had to both the religion of the Book and the religion of the Son of Man. The two crucial branches of the American Religion, in my judgment, are the Mormons and the Southern Baptists, violent opponents of one another, yet each American to the core and neither having anything accurately in common with what historically has been considered Christianity" (81).

Bloom also is impressed by Smith's "religion genius" and "sure sense of relevance that governed biblical and Mormon parallels." He admits, "I can only attribute to his genius or daemon his uncanny recovery of elements in ancient Jewish theurgy that had ceased to be available either to normative Judaism or to Christianity, and that had survived only in esoteric traditions unlikely to have touched Smith directly" (101).

Just as Mormonism is an unusual, revolutionary offshoot from the weathered old oak of traditional Christianity, Zoroastrianism was unprecedented in its theology and monotheism. As R. C. Zaehner points out in the preface to *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*,

> Of all the great religions of the world, Zoroastrianism presents the most intractable problems; for it was a religion founded by a prophet who claimed to have had a revelation from the one true God and who nonetheless lived in a traditionally polytheistic society not yet ripe to receive the totality of his message.... (15)

As well as proclaiming himself a prophet of the one true god, Zoroaster had a revolutionary view of mankind and the world. He believed in life before birth and life before earth, a spiritual creation of all things and beings that preceded the material creation.

Zoroaster posited a basic distinction between good, represented by Ahura Mazda, the one supreme god whose ways and thought are light and truth, and Ahriman, the originator of evil, often identified with Angra Mainyu, the spirit of evil.

> It is thus revealed in the Good Religion that Ahura Mazda

> was on high in omniscience and goodness. For boundless time He was ever in the light. That light is the space and place of Ohrmazd. Some call it Endless Light.... Angra Mainyu was abased in slowness of knowledge and the lust to smite... and darkness his place. Some call it Endless Darkness. And between them was emptiness. They both were limited and limitless: for that which is on high, which is called Endless Light....and that which is abased, which is Endless Darkness — those were limitless. *(Bundahishn* 1)

Because Ahura Mazda was aware of the existence and nature of evil, of the unlimited darkness that existed in Angra Mainyu, he planned his creation to exist in the light, to be good and to further good.

To accomplish this, he first created all beings in creation as spirits: "Ahura Mazda by His omniscience knew that the Evil Spirit existed, what he plotted in his enviousness to do, how he would commingle, what the beginning, what the end; what and how many the tools with which he would make an end. And He created in the spirit state the creatures He would need as those tools. For 3,000 years creation remained in the spirit state." (Bundahishn 1, Boyce 45–46).

The gulf between evil and good is clear from the beginning of the earth: Ahura Mazda and Ahriman cannot coexist in the hearts of man. The Evil Spirit covets the proud, informed beautiful creatures of Ahura Mazda and snarls to him, "I shall not aid your creatures... but I shall destroy you and your creatures for ever and ever. And I shall persuade all your creatures to hate you and to love me..." (Boyce).

But the two spirits agree to postpone battle for 9,000 years, Ahura Mazda knowing that creating good through his earth and its inhabitants will destroy the Evil Spirit. "This too Ahura Mazda knew in His omniscience, that within these 9,000 years, 3,000 years will go according to the will of Ahura Mazda; 3,000 years, in the mixture, will go according to the will of both Ahura Mazda and Ahriman; and at the last battle it will be possible to make Ahriman powerless and to ward off the assault from His creatures" (Boyce).

Now the material creation must follow upon the spiritual, with the purpose of frustrating Ahriman's designs. First, Ahura Mazda created the sky

> as a defence; second, He created Water, to defeat the demon of thirst; third, He created the all-solid Earth; fourth, He created the Plant, to help the beneficent Animal; fifth, He created the beneficent Animal, to help the Just Man; sixth, He created the Just Man to smite the Evil Spirit together with the devs and to make them powerless. And

> then He created Fire and linked its brilliance to the Endless Light. (Boyce *Greater Bundahishn* ch. 1a.)

In all his deeds, Ahura Mazda is assisted by the five celestial beings representing his spiritual powers, sometimes thought of as archangels and called the *Amesha Spenti*, the "Bounteous Immortals," of whom Vohu Mana, Right Mind, is one (Nigosian 74–75). In creating the earth, he is aided by the fravashi. Fravashi are the eternal souls of men and women who have chosen good, conscious beings who existed with Ahura Mazda before the creation of the universe. Such souls are uncreated but coexistent with Ahura Mazda, and act as guardians or doubles of every earthly being or element. The fravashi help "divine and earthly beings by warning and guarding against evil, and by promoting all that is useful and advantageous" (Nigosian 82–83). It is through their "might and glory" according to Zaehner, "that the Wise Lord is able to sustain heaven and earth, through them he spreads out the earth, causes waters to flow, plants to grow, and so forth" (Zaehner 147).

These fravashi assist Ahura Mazda in the material creation; beyond the material creation, the fravashi support the good, choosing truth and rightmindedness, undermining the lie and frustrating Angra Mainyu. "Had the strong Fravashis of the followers of Truth not granted me their aid... the power would belong to the Lie, the kingdom to the Lie, yea, the [whole] material world would belong to the Lie..." (Zaehner 147).

The Hymn to the Fravashi in Yasna 13 emphasizes the fravashi power as well as their desire for good to triumph:

> I praise, invoke and sing the good, strong, holy fravashi of the just... who arrayed sky, who arrayed water, who arrayed earth, who arrayed cattle, who arrayed sons in the womb...; who are the givers of victory to the invoker, of a boon to the eager, of health to the sick, of good fortune to him who invokes them, they go forward, the mighty fravashi of the just, many many hundreds, many many thousands... ."

The fravashi are there to aid all living creatures, but the responsibility to create good and assist Ahura Mazda in his victory over Ahriman and the lie belongs to each mortal: all are tools in the struggle between good and evil. This pledge is stated in the Fravarane (creed, or profession of faith):

> I profess myself a Mazda-worshiper, a follower of Zarathustra [Zoroaster], opposing the Daevas, accepting the Ahuric doctrine; . . . To Ahura Mazda, the good, rich in

> treasures, I ascribe all things good . . . I forswear the company of the wicked Daevas and the followers of Daevas, of demons . . . of those who do harm to any being by thoughts, words, acts or outward signs . . . By the choice of Zarathustra, . . . bringing about reality, just by that choice and doctrine am I a Mazda-worshiper. I profess myself a Mazda-worshiper and follower of Zarathustra, having pledged myself to and avowed the faith, I pledge myself to the good thought, I pledge myself to the good word, I pledge myself to the good act. I pledge myself to the Mazda-worshiping religion . . ." (Yasna 12, Boyce 37-38)

Mormonism posits remarkably similar creation myths. There is a spiritual creation of all matter, animal life and humankind. *The Pearl of Great Price*, a Mormon scriptural record, states that God "made the heaven and the earth; and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew. For I, the Lord God created all things, of which I have spoken, spiritually, before they were naturally upon the face of the earth..." (Moses 3:4-5).

There are even Mormon fravashi: Men and women are pre-existent spiritual beings who have chosen the good before coming to earth and who help to actualize God's creation. Joseph Smith taught that man, rather than a created being, is of the same immortality as God:

> The soul—the mind of man—the immortal spirit—where did it come from? All learned men and doctors of divinity say that God created it in the beginning; but it is not so . . . Is it logical to say that the intelligence of spirits is immortal and yet that it had a beginning? The intelligence of spirits had no beginning, neither will it have an end. The never was a time when there were not spirits; for they are co-eternal with our Father in heaven. The spirit of man is not a created being; it existed from eternity and will exist to eternity. (Roberts 50)

Not only are humans co-existent with God; they are of the same divine essence and nature:

> It is the first principle of the Gospel to know for a certainty the Character of God, and to know that we may converse with him as one man converses with another, and that he was once a man like us.... (*Teachings* 345)

Mormons believe in a pre-existent life, where they were of the same nature as God and chose freely to come to the earth and follow his plan — they

chose "right-mindedness". Like the fravashi, they pledge themselves to the good thought, word and deed.

Another chapter of the Mormon scripture *The Pearl of Great Price* describes the noble nature and calling of the good spirits who choose to help God realize the good purpose of his creation:

> Now the Lord had shown unto me, Abraham, the intelligences that were organized before the world was; and among all these there were many of the noble and great ones; (23) and God saw these souls that they were good, and he stood in the midst of them, and he said: These I will make my rulers; for he stood among those that were spirits, and he saw that they were good... (24) And there stood one among them that was like unto God, and he said unto those who were with him: We will go down, for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an earth where on these may dwell; (25) And we will prove them herewith, to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them... (*Pearl*, Abraham 3:22-25)

The concepts of the spiritual pre-existence and the nature of the good spirits who help the one supreme God to accomplish his purpose are remarkably alike.

We have seen that for both Zoroastrianism and Mormonism evil is co-existent with good, rather than created by God. Ahriman is co-existent with Ahura Mazda, although lesser than the supreme God in nature and purpose, to be sure. However, Ahura Mazda's commitment to free choice by all his beings necessitates allowing the same agency to Ahriman. The eternal nature of good and evil, the necessity for agency is illustrated by the Zoroastrian myth of the pre-existent twins in Yasht 45. "Then shall I speak of the two primal Spirits of existence, of whom the Very Holy thus spoke to the Evil One: 'Neither our thoughts nor teachings nor wills, neither our choices nor words nor acts, not our inner selves nor our souls agree'" (Yasht 45, Boyce).

The Ahunavaiti Gatha (Yasna 30) explains the need to choose between the teachings of these two: "Truly there are two primal Spirits, twins renowned to be in conflict. In thought and word, in act they are two: the better and the bad. And those who act well have chosen rightly between these two, not so the evildoers." The natures, thoughts, desires, and teachings of these primal spirits differ completely. Because of this clear division, all souls, including animals choose the way to follow. Not committing oneself to the good thoughts, words and deeds of Ahura

Mazda's creation defaults into choosing the misery and evil of Ahriman as Yasna 30 explains. "Then shall I speak of the foremost [doctrine] of this existence, which Mazda the Lord, He with knowledge, declared to me. Those of you who do not act upon this mantra, even as I shall think and speak it, for them there shall be woe at the end of life."

The Mormon account of the pre-existence struggle between good and evil is similar and emphasizes the importance of allowing humans a free choice between good and evil. At the end of the council of the good spirits in heaven, referred to earlier, God asks,

> Whom shall I send [to be the redeemer?] That Satan, ... is the same which was from the beginning, and he came before me, saying, "Behold, here am I, send me. I will be thy son and I will redeem all mankind, that one soul shall not be lost and surely I will do it; wherefore give me thine honor.
> (2) But, behold, my Beloved Son, which was my Beloved and Chosen from the beginning, said unto me, Father, thy will be done, and the glory be thine forever.
> (3) Wherefore, because that Satan rebelled against me, and sought to destroy the agency of man, which I the Lord God had given him, and also, that I should give unto him mine own power; by the power of mine Only Begotten, I caused that he should be cast down.
> (4) And he became Satan, yea, even the devil, the father of all lies, to deceive them and to blind men, and to lead them captive at his will, even as many as would not hearken unto my voice. (Moses 4:1–4)

Joseph Smith echoes Yasna 30 in describing the pre-existent planning of the earth and the original conflict between good and evil: "In the beginning, the head of the Gods called a council of the Gods; and they came together and concocted a plan to create the world and people it." (*Teachings* 349) Then, continuing to explain the opposition of two brothers much like the "primordial twins,"

> The contention in heaven was — Jesus said there would be certain souls that would not be saved; and the devil said he could save them all, and laid his plans before the grand council who gave their vote for Jesus Christ. So the devil rose up in rebellion against God, and was cast down, with all who put up their heads for him. (357)

Note that Satan's error which puts him in conflict with Christ and

the other spirits is proposing to deny beings their free will — "saving" them becomes coercion. Evil becomes a tool to win the spirits of men to his side. Angra Mainyu, his soul-brother, does the same thing, winning the daevas to his side. For both religions, free agency, declaring oneself for good or for evil, proves the purpose of creation.

The hymn Yasna 30 makes free will, the necessity of decision, and the consequences even clearer:

> Reflect with clear purpose, each man for himself, on the two choices for decision, being alert indeed to declare yourselves for Him before the great requital. Truly there are two primal Spirits, twins renowned to be in conflict. In thought and word, in act they are two: the better and the bad. And those who act well have chosen rightly between these two, not so the evildoers.....The Daevas indeed did not choose rightly between these two, for the Deceiver approached them as they conferred. Because they chose worst purpose, they then rushed to Fury, with whom they have afflicted the world and mankind. (Yasna 30, Boyce 35)

For Mormons, Nephi is an ancient Mormon prophet who lived around 600 B. C. on the American continent. He would have been roughly contemporaneous with Zoroaster. His sermons and accomplishments are chronicled in *The Book of Mormon*. Nephi makes the same point concerning the basic struggle between good and evil and the essential agency of mankind: "For it must needs be that there is an opposition in all things. If not so... righteousness could not be brought to pass, neither wickedness, neither holiness nor misery, neither good nor bad.... Wherefore, it [the creation] must needs have been created for a thing of naught...there would have been no purpose in the end of its creation."

Both Mormonism and Zoroastrianism have similar views of the creation and purpose of the earth, believing in pre-existence, spiritual creation, a need for agency and free involvement of good mortals. And they hold similar views of the end of the earth as well.

The Zoroastrian influence on Christian eschatology is well recognized and readily traced through Judaism. As R. Zaehner points out,

> ...the theory of a direct Zoroastrian influence on post-exilic Judaism does explain the sudden abandonment on the part of the Jews of the old idea of **Sheol**, a shadowing and depersonalized existence which is the lot of all men irrespective of what they had done on earth, and the sudden adoption, at precisely the time when the exiled Jews made

> contact with the Medes and Persians, of the Iranian Prophet's teaching concerning the afterlife. Thus it is Daniel, allegedly the minister of 'Darius the Mede,' who first speaks clearly of everlasting life and eternal punishment. 'Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth,' he writes, 'shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.' (Zaehner 58)

Zoroastrianism projects the end of human history, a time in which political strife, calamity and pollution of body and soul, earth and individual will be loosed by the Evil Spirit upon the earth, until "carrion and excrement will become so widespread that [whenever] a person strides [forth] he will be walking on impurity." (Yasht 4:28, as quoted by Choksy, p. 129). Of the three periods of creation: The initial three thousand years of creation were marked by conflict between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, the Lord of Wisdom and the Evil Spirit, and the rejection of Ahura Mazda's plan for peace, purity and righteousness. The Evil Spirit was repulsed by the Lord of Wisdom, and the rest of this initial period passed while Angra Mainyu was confounded, stupefied, in the darkness. During this time Ahura Mazda transformed his spiritual creations into corporeal ones. The following, middle, period of creation consists of three thousand years of mixture between good and evil, into which fall both recorded history and current times. Zoroaster helped usher in this period, receiving revelation from Ahura Mazda to learn and preach the right way of the Good Lord.

The third period, the ending of creation, is perceived as a reversal, not only of death and impurity but also of the cosmogony itself. Purity and right-mindedness are essential for Ahura Mazda's final triumph: "For, if human beings or any other sacred creations are polluted and impure, the cosmos becomes polluted when the creations are transmuted into their [eternal state], and consequently, an impure cosmos could not produce final purity at the final resurrection" (Choksy 130).

During the final resurrection, Ahura Mazda and all other immortals will descend to earth. All earthly beings will pass over the Bridge of the Separator, and the final savior will confront all passers, separating the righteous who will see him as a beautiful and inviting maiden from the evil souls who will perceive the savior as an ugly, frightening old hag. Human sinners will be purified of their transgressions. "Then Angra Mainyu and his creatures will be destroyed, sealed into hell with molten metal, to protect the world from evil and pollution forever." Further,

> The Evil Spirit and the demon of Lust, their weapons shattered, will be made powerless by the Gathic incantation, and they will scuttle out into the darkness and gloom through

> the passage in the sky by which they [had] penetrated [the world]... molten metal will flow into hell, and all the stench and pollution that was in hell will be burned by that molten metal and become pure. The passage through which the Evil Spirit penetrated will be sealed by that molten metal." (Bundahishn 34:30–31, as quoted by Choksy 131)

Once good is separated from evil, Ahura Mazda will "make excellent" the creation: "Then the renovation will take place in the world...the corporeal world [will become] immortal, forever and eternally" (Bundahishn 34:32) As Choksy describes it, "Human history will then end, eternity will recommence in absolute purity and perfection, and humanity will dwell in happiness upon a refurbished earth" (131).

Mormons also believe in an apocalyptic end to the earth with existence divided into seven periods instead of three, representing the seven seals of the New Testament *Revelation*. They believe during the sixth period, the tribes of Israel will be gathered together and reunited, and Zion will be built in the Americas. ("The Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," #10, *Pearl of Great Price*). During the seventh period, Christ will return to reign upon a renewed, purified and celestial earth, judging all things, all creation as well as all mankind and redeeming those who are willing, those who have chosen the truth. Satan and the powers of evil will be defeated and impotent (*Doctrine & Covenants* 77: 10 -12).

Norman Cohn, in *Cosmos, Chaos, and the World to Come* discusses the influence of Zoroastrianism on all subsequent millennial religions. He traces the influence of Zoroastrianism on both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic thought, but describes some differences between Zoroastrian thinking and traditional Christian beliefs about cosmology and apocalypse (Cohn 221–222). However, these points of differences are not conflicts between Zoroastrianism and Mormonism.

The first point concerns the non-coevality of God and Satan in Christian thought, which differs with original Zoroastrian theology. However, the late Hellenistic Zurvanism sect of Zoroastrianism posits a supreme God (Time) reigning over both Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, and therefore does not conflict with Christian thought. Cohn points out, "... the one great difference between Angra Mainyu and the Judaeo-Christian Devil had disappeared by [Zurvanite] the time that any Jews could have experienced the full impact of Zoroastrian thinking. For if originally Angra Mainyu had been imagined as coeval with the supreme god and almost his equal, he had ceased to be so in ... Zurvanism" (221). As we have already seen, in Mormon doctrine as in Zoroaster's originating thought, Christ and Satan are coeval and co-eternal: both God and Satan have access to men's

souls. In Dostoyevsky's words from the *Brothers Karamazov*, ".. God and the Devil are fighting for mastery, and the battlefield is the heart of man."

Cohn also discusses a difference between Zoroastrian and Jewish expectations concerning the fate of individuals after death: "Neither the fate of individuals after death nor the fate of the world after the great consummation is imagined in quite the same way. For Zoroastrians, pending the final judgment individual souls existed in heaven or hell, experiencing the reward or punishment earned during life on earth. After the universal judgment they would be reunited with their bodies... In the Jewish apocalypses the dead sleep until the Last Judgment — but then the sinners will be condemned to eternal punishment" (222). Like Zoroastrians, Mormons believe that individual souls after death exist in a spirit world. There, those who have chosen evil have opportunities to repent and learn to embrace the good; those who have chosen good teach and administer to those less perfect souls. Here again, the Mormon belief mirrors the Zoroastrian, looking forward to a "future world wholly good and happy, wholly cleansed of evil and suffering," as Cohn describes the Zoroastrian vision (222).

Not only do Zoroastrianism and Mormonism share beliefs in the apocalyptic outcome for individual souls and the purpose and ending of the earth, both believe in the separation of the creation time into periods, with the final period summarizing the outcome of the battle between good and evil through the purifying and celestializing of the earth, the defeating and binding of the evil power, and the judgment of individuals and creation by the savior.

Therefore, it is no surprise that purity and purification ritual play an important role in both religions. Part of the commitment to the right way mandates protecting oneself from the corrupting influences insinuated by Ahriman (or Satan) into the world.

Since the function of creation is winning that battle against evil, Jamsheed Choksy points out that the function of creation was "the progressive elimination of evil, death, and suffering from the universe. Ritual purity, in belief and practice, was developed as a means by which the religious goal of expelling evil could be achieved" (*Purity and Pollution in Zoroastrianism* xxiii).

The goal of evil is to pollute all that is sacred — in humanity, in the natural, material world, and in the spiritual world as well. Earth, fire, air and water, as elements, were created for good by Ahura Mazda; it is the duty of those on the right path to protect these elements of creation, as well as themselves, from corruption. Fire in particular is regarded as holy; besides being an element of the earth, it symbolizes the spiritual realm. Fire destroys darkness and thus is symbolic of Truth destroying error. Fire also is symbolic of the purifying holiness of God, of the holy spirit.

Purification rituals were provided for the protection of the elements and of mankind. "Purification rituals are undergone to attain a symbolic religious state of purity and virtue in addition to simple physical cleanliness. The rites not only cleanse the individual's physical body, but, more important, they are thought to also purify the soul. ... purification of the soul...is believed to assist in the expulsion of evil and the eventual unification of the devotee with the deities."

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, believing that mankind is immortal in essence and divine in substance, also emphasize the importance of purity. Joseph Smith stated, "If you live up to these principles, how great and glorious will be your reward in the celestial kingdom! If you live up to your privileges, the angels cannot be restrained from being your associates .... if we would come before God, we must keep ourselves pure, as he is pure" (*Teachings* 226-227).

Mormons are great temple-builders, and one of the prime functions of the Latter Day Saints temple, (besides genealogical work,) is purification. Mormons attend temples, dressed in white to symbolize purity, to renew commitment to sacred covenants and to purify themselves from the influences of the world.

Fire is an important symbol for Mormons as well as for Zoroastrians, representing the purifying influence of God. Fire symbolizes the spirit of God, a cleansing and burning force. One song, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning," a favorite Mormon hymn, is sung at all temple dedications, representing the bringing together of man and God, of earth and heaven, through this purifying force. In fact, the song seems to be as representative of Zoroastrianism as it is of Mormonism, indicating not only the visions, blessings and visits of angels but also the special relationship between man and God in both religions:

> The Spirit of God like a fire is burning!
> The latter-day glory begins to come forth;
> The visions and blessings of old are returning,
> And angels are coming to visit the earth.
>
> We'll call in our solemn assemblies in spirit,
> To spread forth the kingdom of heaven abroad,
> That we through our faith may begin to inherit,
> The visions and blessings and glories of god.
>
> (*Hymns* 2)

Why do these parallells exist? Perhaps some can be explained by the close relationship between the religion of the Persian empire and its subject Jews in diaspora. An influence could have been forged which was

passed on to Christianity. Other possibilities exist: the Mormon concept of free agency and the battle in the pre-existence may have been influenced by Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a favorite work of Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph Smith's mother. Perhaps the spiritual insights and strivings of Zoroaster and Joseph Smith happened to be kindred and bridged the three-thousand years that seperated them. Though I can't explain the parallels, I can see the difference they make for some of my students: these ancient cultures are not so foreign after all. They may even speak to us in accents we can recognize.

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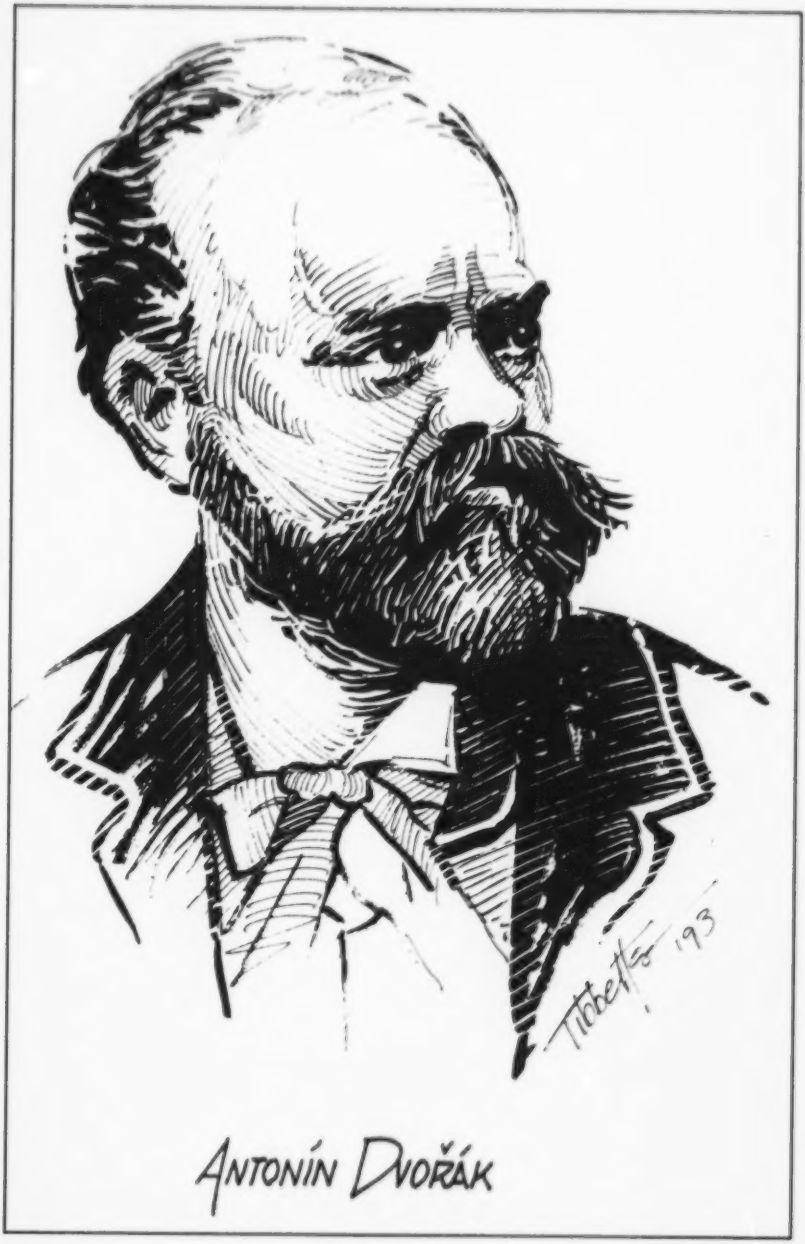
THE MISSING TITLE PAGE: DVORAK AND THE AMERICAN NATIONAL SONG

John C. Tibbetts

In *A Song Is Born*, a Goldwyn film from 1948, a group of musicians present a radio broadcast on the evolution of jazz. A stellar cast of performers—Benny Goodman, Lionel Hampton, Gene Krupa, Mel Powell, Charlie Barnet, Tommy Dorsey, Louis Bellson, and members of the Golden Gate Quartet—subject a simple folk tune to a series of riffs, taking it from its primitive, folk origins to subsequent incarnations as an African tribal dance, a Latin samba, a black spiritual, a popular song, and, finally, a swing piece for jazz combo. Even if *A Song Is Born*, ultimately, did poor box office and was a disappointment to fans of its nominal headliner, Danny Kaye, this sequence is of major interest to the rest of us: The "folk" melody, never credited, was in actuality the "Largo" theme from Antonin Dvorak's Symphony in E minor, "From the New World."

I cannot help but think Dvorak (1841-1904) would have enjoyed the tribute immensely. During his American sojourn, 1892-1895, the Czech composer had predicted that the emerging national song would be a model of America itself—*i.e.*, a blend of disparate ethnic and cultural elements transcending any one individual type. It is no exaggeration to say that through his own example, precept, and influence Dvorak helped stimulate important currents in modern American music: the ragtime dance, the popular songs of Tin Pan Alley, the classical spiritual, and concert jazz. Ironically, it was the foreigner who raised the consciousness of Americans, promoting the desirability of a native style. And, as we have seen in *A Song Is Born*, his own music was, in turn, absorbed into the American cultural main stream. Of all "classical" composers of the day, Dvorak would have taken the least umbrage that his music should be transformed into a pop song. "I've enjoyed everything I have done," he once told a friend, "I always wrote a polka, or any silly trifle at all, with the same zest, the same delight, as I wrote an oratorio."[1]

When Dvorak came to America in the fall of 1892 at the invitation of New York cultural leader Jeannette Meyer Thurber to assume the directorship of the newly-formed National Conservatory of Music of America, he was well aware of his mission. "The Americans expect great things of me," he wrote a friend back in Prague, "and the main thing is, so they say, to show them to the promised land and kingdom of a new and independent art, in short, to create a national music."[2] Critic Henry E.



ANTONÍN DVOŘÁK

Krehbiel hailed the arrival of the famed Czech composer and predicted that he would bring together "popular elements and classical forms" in a new kind of American music:

> The phrase that music is a cosmopolite owing allegiance to . . . no people and no tongue is become trite. . . . [Rather,] the. . . originality and power in the composer rest upon the use of. . . dialects and idioms which are national or racial in origin and. . . structure. [3]

The 51-year composer was at the height of his international popularity, his *Slavonic Dances* and *Moravian Duets* heard on concert platforms and parlor pianos alike, his *Requiem* and *Stabat Mater* established staples in the choral repertory, and his symphonies second only to those of his great contemporary, fervent supporter, and only rival in musical celebrity, Johannes Brahms.

Unlike other prominent composers who had previously visited America—including Russian piano virtuoso Anton Rubinstein, who arrived in 1872 for a lucrative 20-month tour; Jacques Offenbach, who celebrated the 1876 American Centennial with a series of concerts; and Peter Ilych Tchaikovsky, who lent his prestige to the opening festivities of Carnegie Hall in May 1891 [4]—Dvorak actually lived and worked here. He remained for almost three years, taught many students, travelled extensively, commented publicly on the cultural scene, and composed eleven major works. [5] American pupils and colleagues under his guidance at the Conservatory included African-American composers Harry T. Burleigh, Maurice Arnold, and Will Marion Cook; and white composers Horatio Parker and Rubin Goldmark. Burleigh became the father of the modern spiritual tradition; Parker and Goldmark, progenitors of the American "classical style" brought to perfection by their pupils George Gershwin, Aaron Copland, and Charles Ives; and Cook, a prime architect of ragtime, jazz, and the Broadway show, whose most famous pupil was Duke Ellington.

The ever-curious Dvorak was supremely sensitive to the sights and sounds of America. From the windows of his Conservatory offices at 126-128 East 17th Street, he watched in astonishment the bustling, clangorous parades celebrating the Columbus Quadricentennial. An indefatigable walker, he traversed all of Manhattan Island, savoring the street life and frequenting the opera houses, churches, train stations, coffee houses, and saloons. With his family he travelled by train and wagon across the country to Niagara Falls, Chicago, Spillville, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska. [6] He met Buffalo Bill and Annie Oakley, conducted his own music at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, and listened to "the music of the people," as he put

it—the "Negro melodies, the songs of the creoles, the red man's chant, the plaintive ditties of the German or Norwegian. . . the melodies of whistling boys, street singers and blind organ grinders." [7] As a result, his own music took on "American" characteristics—a controversial point to which I'll return later.

America was changing from an essentially rural-agrarian vision of Paradise to an imperialist world power. Transcontinental rail lines and telegraph wires spanned the continent—provoking young Frederick Jackson Turner to proclaim that the frontier was now closed. [8] With further westward expansion halted, America was suffering an implosion of its energies and peoples. A restless population, swelled by recent waves of immigrants, was spilling into the city streets and across the plains. Ethnic groups like Native Americans were being displaced by other, newly-arrived peoples, like the Czechs. [9]

Inevitably, Dvorak was caught up in the ongoing debate over American cultural identity, begun a half century before. Ralph Waldo Emerson had predicted in his 1837 essay, "The American Scholar," that Americans must renounce their former dependence upon European cultural models and "walk on our own feet [and] speak our own minds." Obviously, this meant acknowledging America's own ethnic and racial diversity. This process began, said Walt Whitman later in the century, with language. In the preface to *November Boughs* (1885) Whitman wrote that speech would become our universal "absorber and combiner." English as a living speech was assimilating contributions from every ethnic group, rejecting none. Slang, he further insisted, was renewing language. Vernacular speech is the kind of process that is "not made by dictionary makers" but "by the masses, people nearest the concrete, having most to do with actual land and sea." [10]

Music had already demonstrated its own role in this process. In the parlors of Stephen Foster's day there were few distinctions between American and Old World music, popular and classical. Operatic arias rubbed shoulders with Scots-Irish tunes and African-American "plantation songs." [11] However, by the time Dvorak arrived in 1892, there were signs of a retrenchment, a "sacralization of culture" that widened the gap between highbrow and lowbrow music (expressed, variously, as "cultivated" versus "vernacular" and "genteel" versus "popular"). From certain quarters, including the New England conservatories and the hallowed pages of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, came attacks on what editor John Sullivan Dwight described as the "musical babble" of eclecticism. Dwight, a Bostonian, alleged that vernacular music appealed only to a "commonplace majority" rather than a "higher plane of spiritual aesthetic gratification." [12]

Part and parcel of this late 19th century attitude was the emergence of a more tightly stratified class structure. There were political and racist

agendas at work here, namely, that one body of music—especially that of the German academies—was superior to all others and could be understood and "appreciated" only by a small, privileged segment of the population. This cultural divide corresponded to ethnic and national divisions: Most of the elite were of Anglo-Saxon descent, while the outsiders were Irish, Italian, African-American, Scandinavian, and, soon, Central European and southern Mediterranean. [13]

Until recently, Dvorak's American sojourn has been only superficially examined, regarded at most as a footnote to his life and to America's cultural history. [14] This neglect is, in part, understandable: Few physical traces of his sojourn remain, excepting a tiny but charming Dvorak Museum in Spillville, Iowa, and an area along New York City's East 17th Street between First and Second Avenues, recently designated "Dvorak Place." [15] The Conservatory and most of its papers disappeared after the 1929 stock market crash. And the Dvorak residence in New York was demolished in 1992. [16] Dvorak left no journal or comprehensive written record of his activities, save a handful of articles and letters that have been neglected or, at the least, misquoted. (Indeed, their very authorship has been questioned. [17]) And Dvorak's most important African American pupils, Burleigh, Cook, and Arnold have, up to now, received little popular exposure and scholarly scrutiny. [18]

Yet Dvorak's American adventure is fraught with significance and controversy. The most modest of men, he himself was a figure of contradictions: Although he was a Czech villager, a minority figure in a German-dominated musical establishment, he became a cosmopolitan artist feted in the musical capitals of Europe, Russia, and America. Many of his countrymen accused him of turning his back on his own roots; and, conversely, the German musical establishment criticized him for his inordinate employment of folk idioms in his music. The truth is, he lived in both worlds, exploiting the idioms of his own culture in a vocabulary befitting the academic, or classical style. He was precisely the right person to assume the leadership of the National Conservatory in America.

Established in 1885, the National Conservatory had become, by the time of Dvorak's arrival, the most outstanding institution for professional musical preparation in the United States, boasting a faculty that included lecturer Henry T. Finck, pianist Rafael Joseffy, pianist/journalist James Gibbons Huneker, cellist/composer Victor Herbert, conductor Anton Seidl, and composers Rubin Goldmark and Horatio Parker. In recognition of its artistic and educational attainments, the Conservatory won a Congressional Charter in 1891, the only such acknowledgement ever conferred on a school of the arts in America. However, its admission policies were most unorthodox—it was the first institution in the United States to make a special mission of seeking out and encouraging women, minorities, and the

handicapped. [19] This was at a time, it must be remembered, when women were not employed by "respectable" orchestras, and nonwhite musicians had difficulty gaining recognition in the concert world.

During his tenure at the Conservatory, Dvorak spoke out on what he regarded as America's cultural shortcomings. "It is a difficult task at best for a foreigner to give a correct verdict of the affairs of another country," he admitted in 1895. "It would ill become me, therefore, to express my views on so general and all-embracing a subject as music in America, were I not pressed to do so." Pressed to comment he was, however. Newspapers and magazines constantly hounded him for quotes. While he admired the enthusiastic patriotism that tended to pronounce every building and new invention the finest in the world, and while he applauded "the American push" that propelled his pupils to stop at nothing in their pursuit of goals—"they are inquisitive to a degree that they want to go to the bottom of all things at once"—he deplored the lack of public support of the arts:

> When I see how much is done in every other field by. . . public-spirited men in America—how schools, universities, . . . libraries, museums, hospitals, and parks spring up out of the. . . ground and are maintained by generous gifts—I can only marvel. . . that so little has been done for music?

It was not so in the Old World, Dvorak continued, documenting an extensive catalog of instances of public and government support. "The great American republic alone, in its national government as well as in the several governments of the States, suffers art and music to go without encouragement." Despite his encouragement of Mrs. Thurber's dream to gain federal support for her Conservatory, however, nothing came of it. His arguments seem remarkably pertinent today—as is their failure to enact governmental response. [20]

Nothing among his pronouncements arouse more heated debate and controversy, however, than his attitudes toward the cultural values of certain ethnic groups. In his first public utterance as the new Director of the National Conservatory, "The Real Value of Negro Melodies," published in the New York Herald on May 21, 1893, Dvorak wrote:

> . . . I did not come to America to interpret Beethoven or Wagner . . . for the public. This is not my work and I would not waste any. . . time on it. I came to discover what young Americans have in. . . them and to help them express it. . . . The new American. . . school of music must strike its roots deeply into its own soil.. . . . Moreover, he told composers that an American national style should be based on the

> music of African Americans. "In the negro melodies of America I discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music." [21] At the time of the premiere of the "New World" Symphony on December 15, 1893, in New York City, he amplified his statement to include the music of native Americans. [22]

And in his last comment on the subject, in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1895—as he prepared to leave America and return to Prague—he admitted that his original prescription was based on incomplete knowledge of musical traditions in America. All ethnic groups, he now believed, should be included: "the germs for the best in music lie hidden among all the races that are commingled in this great country." [23]

Protest was immediate. Members of the New England musical establishment reacted with bitter scorn to the contention that a truly American music might be based on the music of socially and politically marginal groups. "We have here in America been offered a pattern for an 'American' national musical costume by the Bohemian Dvorak," responded Edward MacDowell, America's most distinguished composer; "—though what Negro melodies have to do with Americanism in art still remains a mystery." Writing in the pages of the *Boston Herald*, May 28, 1893, John Knowles Paine, leader of the Second New England School of composers, stated flatly, "In my estimation, it is a preposterous idea to say that in the future American music will rest upon such a foundation as the melodies of a yet largely undeveloped race." Amy Beach, the most prominent female composer of the day, said the "negro melodies of which Dvorak speaks" are "not fully typical of our country." The blacks, moreover, "are no more native than the Italians, Swedes or Russians." George Whitefield Chadwick, an important colleague of Paine and Beach, deplored such melodies as models for serious composition, declaring, "I should be sorry to see [them] become the basis of an American school of musical composition." Another composer, Arthur Foote, in a later response, wrote that African American music was either of the music hall variety or, regarding spirituals, indistinguishable from white models. He asked if there could be better models than "composers from Bach to Wagner."

In a recent article on this subject, Adrienne Fried Block concluded: "If Paine and some others dismissed Dvorak's ideas outright, it was because they had for some time been hoping to purify their music of the very American provincialisms now being urged on them by Dvorak." [24]

Two related issues were at stake: the survival of "classical"—read elitist—music in the face of the growing threat of popular music; and the maintenance of an Anglo-American identity in the face of increasing tides of immigration from non-British lands. Thus, classical music was first and

foremost the province of upper-class Anglo-Saxons (though Germanic elements dominated in other parts of the country), and popular music was the province of the lower classes, mostly of non-British descent. It is clear that the split between classical and popular music also had racial and ethnic implications.

The eminent historian, Dr. Charles Hamm, has even suggested that behind these objections was a not-so-subtle aversion to Dvorak's selection of New York City as a residence. New York was regarded as a "foreign" city overrun by hordes of immigrants from undesirable national backgrounds. They couldn't speak English and weren't even Protestant! "The fact that Dvorak went to that city rather than to Boston, and that he soon suggested that American composers might draw on the culture of ethnic groups outside the traditional New England establishment, surely had something to do with the suspicion directed toward him in certain conservative musical quarters, particularly in New England." [25]

Nonetheless, Dvorak's pronouncements had an immediate, decided, and long lasting effect on American composers. "Not only was his influence still strong two decades after he left the United States," Adrienne Block writes, "but there is also considerable evidence that his definition of Americanism in music determined the parameters of the debate over nationalism for almost half a century." [26] The list of examples, apart from the work of his own students, is endless; the merest sampling will have to suffice. Despite his huffiness, Edward MacDowell's most ambitious orchestral work, his *Suite No. 2*, Opus 48, which was premiered in 1896, utilized native American idioms and was subtitled "Indian." George Chadwick incorporated vernacular elements evocative of Dvorak's "American" Quartet into his own 4th String Quartet; and Amy Beach composed a "Gaelic" Symphony—her first and only symphony—as a "Celtic response" to Dvorak, premiering it in Boston on October 30t, 1896, almost three years after the "New World" Symphony's premiere in that city. (In January 1994 at a series of concerts honoring the 100th anniversary of Dvorak's American visit, the Brooklyn Academy of Music performed both works on the same program.) Henry F. Gilbert was perhaps the first American to draw directly upon Negro spirituals in orchestral pieces like *Americanesque on Negro-Minstrel Tunes* (1903), *Dance in the Place Congo* (1906-08), and *Negro Rhapsody (Shout)* in 1912. Charles Ives introduced various vernacular elements into many works, like the *Ragtime Piece* (1902-1904), his *Third Symphony* ("The Camp Meeting"), completed in 1904, *Central Park in the Dark* (the second of his Two Contemplations, 1906), the *First Piano Sonata* (completed in 1909), and the *Three Places in New England* (1911-1914). And, hard on the heels of Dvorak's statements and based on recent research by ethnologists at the Smithsonian Institution and the Peabody Institute of Archaeology and

Ethnology, the so-called "Indianist" movement soon developed. Collectors and researchers H. E. Krehbiel and Alice Fletcher published volumes of Native American melodies. In 1901 Arthur Farwell became, in his own words, "the first composer in America to take up Dvorak's challenge . . . in a serious and whole-hearted way," establishing his Wa-Wan Press to publish his groundbreaking *American Indian Melodies*. [27]

Clearly, Dvorak believed there was such a thing as nationalism in music, that each country should encourage its own unique musical expression, and that American composers should therefore immerse themselves in the folk traditions of their own land. These notions grew out of the conviction that music is essentially a "realistic," or programmatic art—a belief that runs counter to the view that music is a "universal," or absolutist phenomenon which has no relationship whatever to extra-musical elements. In Europe these camps were epitomized by, respectively, the adherents of Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms (especially the critic Eduard Hanslick). Dvorak's own music written in America was a test case: To what extent was it uniquely "American," or descriptive of national traits, and to what degree did it remain in the European absolutist academic tradition?

On the one hand, he did not literally appropriate "negro" and native American melodies for his own use. That was never his practice, and he never advocated it in his teachings. Rather, he saturated himself with these materials until he became "thoroughly imbued with their characteristics," as he put it, so that he could "make a musical picture in keeping with and partaking of those characteristics." [28] Thus, for example, melodies in the "New World" Symphony that seemed to resemble the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and the patriotic ditty, "Yankee Doodle," were, in actuality, little more than general allusions. Thus, we might conclude that his music remained centered in the European academic tradition, filtered somewhat through his American impressions.

On the other hand, Dvorak was undeniably fascinated by specific rhythmic and melodic features he attributed to an indigenously African American and native American music—i.e., "Scotch" snaps (a short note value occurring on the beat following by a longer note value lasting through the remainder of the beat—producing a kind of whiplash crack to a musical phrase), pentatonic scales (in Dvorak's case, a stack of four perfect fifths, e.g., FCGDA), flatted sevenths in minor and major keys, and syncopations. While historians and musicologists John Clapham, David Beveridge, and Gerald Abraham admit that these characteristics occur in Dvorak's music prior to his American visit, they insist that they "occur more frequently in his American works", particularly in the "New World" Symphony, the "American" Quartet and Quintet, and the Sonatina. [29] Moreover, the composer himself declared in a *New York Herald* article, May 28, 1893,

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that the second and third movements of the symphony utilized musical materials originally intended for an opera based on Longfellow's *Hiawatha* (an opera that was never completed). [30] This has been confirmed by recent researches by Michael Beckerman. [31]

Unfortunately, Dvorak was inconsistent in his own contentions on the subject. In a letter written from Spillville, Iowa, to his friend, Dr. Kozanek, in Kromeriz, September 15, 1893, he declared: "I am very well off here, God be praised, I am in good health and am working well and I know that, as for my new Symphony, the F major String Quartet and the Quintet (composed here in Spillville)—I should never have written these works 'just so' if I hadn't seen America." [32] But he contradicted himself in a later statement recorded by his secretary, J. J. Kovarik: "So I am an American composer, am I? I was, I am, and I remain a Czech composer. I have only showed them the path they might take—how they should work. But I'm through with that! From this day forward I will write the way I wrote before!" [33]

Perhaps James Gibbons Huneker had the most amusing and insightful observation on the "New World"'s presumed American character when he observed:

> . . . Dvorak's is an American symphony: is it? Themes from negro . . . melodies; composed by a Bohemian; conducted by a Hungarian and. . . played by Germans in a hall built by a Scotchman. About one. . . third of the audience were Americans and so were the critics. . . . . All the rest of it was anything but American—and that is just. . . as it can be. . . .[34]

The controversy remains unresolved, of course, although it was thoroughly explored at the Dvorak Sesquicentennial Conference and Festival in New Orleans, Feb. 14-20, 1991. [35]

The issues and debates sparked by Dvorak's visit a hundred years ago—public support of the arts; the rights of minority groups to public education; the assimilation of immigrant and minority groups into American culture (the conflicting priorities of diversity and centrism); the racist/elitist agendas behind the boundary lines separating "pop" and "classical" art; and the implications of "nationalism" in the arts—remain today as lively and controversial as ever. As Editor of *Dvorak in America*, I found it a constant revelation to realize that what at first seemed to be merely a historical investigation of three years in the life of Dvorak was in reality a far broader examination of a variety of issues pertinent to American cultural and social life, most of which are still current and still unresolved.

The book itself became the model for the complexity of that discussion. It viewed Dvorak's New World adventure through a series of

interpretive lenses—through the diverse perspectives of the musicologist, cultural historian, archivist, educator, musician, psychoanalyst, media reporter, and novelist. Its narrow span of three years ultimately became a useful prism that threw out a rainbow spectrum of issues still pertinent after a hundred years.

Finally, it strikes me as significant that the melodies by Dvorak that are most often heard and quoted today were composed during his American visit. He was by no means a "pop" song composer—notwithstanding the concert success of his *Moravian Duets* and *Gypsy Songs*—but he revered Stephen Foster [36] and, in his own way, contributed to the pop phenomenon of Tin Pan Alley. [37]

Consider what has happened to his "Largo" and "Humoresque No. 7." Both seem through their very ubiquity to have become "anonymous" tunes hummed and whistled by many, but whose authorship is known to only a relative few. The "Largo" was arranged for jazz band by Will Marion Cook in 1919. Three years later a song version with lyrics was published by William Arms Fisher, a Dvorak pupil, under the title "Goin' Home." It became a great popular success with listeners who had never heard of Dvorak. In Czechoslovakia, meanwhile, Dvorak's countrymen transformed it into a church song, "Veliky Boze nas" ("Oh, Great God"). The "Humoresque," was the basis for ragtime composer Felix Arndt's "Desecration Rag" No. 1, and subsequent jazz versions by Charlie Mingus, Emilio Cacares, and Oscar Peterson. That same tune was placed into contrapuntal juxtaposition with Stephen Foster's "Old Folks at Home" in 1922 and performed by tenor Walter Van Brunt and soprano Helen Clark on an Edison disc (51002-L). In the 1960s arranger Richard Mayman composed a full-dress orchestral version of this two-melody counterpoint for the Boston Pops Orchestra. This juxtaposition is particularly apt because Dvorak loved the Foster tune and had made a choral arrangement of it in 1894. (See footnote #36)

Inevitably, both melodies have been taken over by the movies. (It is barely possible, by the way, that Dvorak might have seen Edison's new Kinetoscope device during his New York sojourn. [38]) In 1936 Frank Capra included a scene in *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* where Gary Cooper and Jean Arthur sing an impromptu version of "Humoresque"/"Old Folks at Home." Arthur sings the Foster lyrics while Cooper, imitating a tuba, hums the Dvorak melody. Deanna Durbin sang the William Arms Fisher version of the "Largo" to Charles Laughton in *It Started with Eve* (1941). And in the aforementioned *A Song Is Born*, lyricist Don Raye and composer Gene DePaul concocted what the cue sheets in the Goldwyn Archives list as the "Long Hair Jam Session Production Routine."

The "Largo" and "Humoresque" thus join ranks with Brahms' famous "Lullaby," "Turkey and the Straw" (an 1834 tune whose authorship

has been claimed by both Bob Farrell and George Washington Dixon), and Foster's "Oh! Susanna" as having left the specific contexts of history to become a part of an "anonymous" folk tradition.

The Czech writer, Karel Capek has eloquently described this process:

> . . . Every copy of [a writer's work] would travel from hand to. . . hand, from hands marked by pinpricks and corrosive laundry. . . detergents, reddish with kitchen cleansing powder, soiled by . . . inkspots, into hands bruised by some other kind of hard life, . . . until finally the title page of all copies would be lost and . . . nobody would know any more who the author was. And it would be . . . unnecessary to know because everybody would find himself in the . . . book. [18]

Quoting Capek's words in his address to the 1993 Iowa Dvorak Centennial Symposium, the Czech-Canadian novelist Josef Skvorecky reminded us that in this same way Dvorak's music has thus gone out to the people, been absorbed, "lost its title page" (as it were), and returned bearing the marks of its new owners.

In June 1994 I had the opportunity to present an inscribed copy of *Dvorak in America* to President Vaclav Havel in Prague Castle. It occurred to me that in this way, too, Dvorak's music had come back home—with America's fingerprints all over it.

NOTES

1. Quoted in Josef Skvorecky, "Every Silly Trifle," in *Iowa Dvorak Centennial Symposium Abstracts* (Iowa Center for the Arts, 1993), 5-6. For production information regarding *A Song Is Born*, see Alvin H. Marill, Samuel Goldwyn Presents (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1976), 258-260.
2. Dvorak letter to Dr. Emil Kozanek, October 12, 1892; in Otakar Sourek, Ed., Trans. Roberta Finlayson Samsour, *Antonin Dvorak: Letters and Reminiscences* (Prague, Artia, 1954), 152.
3. Henry E. Krehbiel, "Antonin Dvorak," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 44, No. 5 (September 1892), 657.

4. For accounts of the Offenbach and Tchaikovsky American visits, see, respectively, Lander MacClintock, ed. and trans., *Orpheus in America: Offenbach's Diary of His Journey to the New World* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1957); and Elkhonon Yoffe, trans. Lidya Yoffe, *Tchaikovsky in America* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986).

5. The eleven works are, in chronological order of composition, *Te Deum*, Opus 103 (1892), "The American Flag" Cantata, Opus 102 (1893), Symphony No. 9 in E Minor ("From the New World"), Opus 95 (1893), String Quartet in F Major ("American"), Opus 96 (1893), String Quintet in E-Flat major ("American"), Opus 97 (1893), Sonatina in G Major for Violin and Piano, Opus 100 (1893), Suite in A Major ("American"), opus 98 (1894), Cello Concerto in B Minor, Opus 104 (1895), *Eight Humoresques*, Opus 101 (1894-95), *Biblical Songs*, Opus 99 (1894), "Old Folks at Home" (arrangement of a Stephen Foster song for solo voices, chorus, and full orchestra), 1894. A sketch for a twelfth piece, an "American Anthem" was begun in New York in 1892 but never completed (although the thematic ideas surfaced in the slow movement of the E-flat major Quintet, Opus 97).

6. The trip to Spillville, Iowa in the summer of 1893 was suggested by Dvorak's secretary, J. J. Kovarik, who had grown up in that Czech-American community. See my "Dvorak in the New World: A Spillville Adventure," *Classical Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (February 1991), 32-36. For a thorough history of the Czech presence in the Iowa region see Cyril M. Klimesh, *They Came to This Place: A History of Spillville, Iowa and Its Czech Settlers* (Sebastopol CA: Methodius Press, 1983).

7. Antonin Dvorak [assisted by Edwin E. Emerson, Jr.], "Music in America," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 90, No. 537 (February 1895), 433. It has been reprinted in its complete form in my *Dvorak in America* (Portland OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 370-80.

8. For an especially lucid examination of the various historical and social currents of the day, see Paul F. Boller, Jr., *American Thought in Transition: The Impact of Evolutionary Naturalism, 1865-1900* (New York: UP of America, 1981). Dvorak's New York is described in detail in Chapter Five of my *Dvorak in America*, 33-52.

9. See Cyril M. Klimesh, *They Came To This Place: A History of Spillville, Iowa and Its Czech Settlers*, 13-18.

10. Whitman's essay is discussed in F. O. Mathiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York: Oxford UP, 1941), 519. For a discussion of Emerson's address, see Gay Wilson Allen, *Waldo Emerson* (New York: Viking, 1981), 298-302.

11. Opera in the first half of the 19th century was simultaneously popular and elite, and arias rubbed shoulders with popular airs in the parlor and on the concert stage. Amusing examples are cataloged in Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1988), 85-101 and in Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979), 62-88.

12. Quoted in Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 119-122. For a more sympathetic discussion of Dwight, see William W. Austin, *"Susanna," "Jeanie," and the Old Folks at Home: The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 55-60.

13. See Charles Hamm, "Dvorak, Stephen Foster, and American National Song," in my *Dvorak in America*, 149-156.

14. The distinguished music historian, John Clapham, wrote about Dvorak's American sojourn in the following articles: "Dvorak on the American Scene," *Nineteenth Century Music*, Vol. V, No. 1 (Summer 1981), 16-21; "Dvorak and the American Indian," *Musical Times*, Vol. 107, No. 1484 (1966), 863-867; "Dvorak's Musical Directorship in New York," *Music & Letters*, Vol. 47 (1967), 40-51; "Dvorak's Musical Directorship in New York: A Postscript," *Music & Letters*, Vol. 59 (1978), 19-27; "Dvorak on the American Scene," *Nineteenth Century Music*, Vol. 5, No. 9 (Summer 1981), 16-21. The only book-length study of Dvorak's Spillville sojourn to appear in English prior to my *Dvorak in America* was a poetic effusion by Patricia Hempl, *Spillville* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1987).

15. The area in the Stuyvesant District where Dvorak lived was designated "Dvorak Place" in February 1992. Plans are afoot to place a Dvorak statue in Stuyvesant Park, directly across the street from 327 E. 17th Street, the site of Dvorak's residence.

16. The fate of the Dvorak house, a four-story brick row house at 327 E. 17th Street, is a sad testament to public neglect of historical sites. It had been honored in 1941, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the composer's birth, as a symbol of Czech-American relations. Mayor Fiorello La Guardia and Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Czechoslovak government Jan Masaryk, participated in the ceremonies. At that time La Guardia promised to secure landmark status for the structure. Such was not to be, however, and the home was purchased in 1989 by the Beth Israel Medical Center and, after a bitterly divisive debate, subsequently torn down in late August 1991, just a few days short of the composer's 150th birthday. An AIDS hospice is presently

being built on the site. For a detailed account, see my *Dvorak in America*, 341-354.

17. Just after the completion of his Symphony in E minor ("From the New World") in the spring of 1893, Dvorak began to write articles and do interviews regarding issues relevant to a national "American" music. He read English perfectly, but wrote it in a highly idiosyncratic fashion. Thus, it has been suggested that an "invisible voice" assisted in the translations and/or rewritings—perhaps colleague James Gibbons Huneker, critic and ethnomusicologist Henry E. Krehbiel, or journalist James Creelman. In an address delivered to the Iowa Dvorak Centennial Symposium, August 4-7, 1993, Professor Michael Beckerman of the University of California—Santa Barbara claimed to have discovered the authorial identity behind Dvorak's most controversial article, "The Real Value of Negro Melodies," December 16, 1893, 28—one James Creelman, editor of the *New York Telegram*, the *Herald*'s sister paper at the time. Creelman, a friend of Dvorak, was in perfect sympathy with the composer's attitudes about "negro melodies" and was in a position to articulate it. "Knowing what we do now about Creelman, we might want to be careful about how we attribute this material to Dvorak," said Beckerman. "Perhaps we shall never know precisely what Dvorak said himself and what Creelman did with it, but certainly we have a charismatic new character introduced into this drama." (see *Iowa Dvorak Centennial Symposium Abstracts*, 14; and Michael Beckerman, "The Master's Little Joke: Antonin Dvorak and the Mask of Nation," in Beckerman, Ed., *Dvorak and His World* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 134-153.

18. A doctoral dissertation about the life and music of Burleigh has recently been completed at the University of Pittsburgh by Jean E. Snyder. See her chapter, "A Great and Noble School of Music," in my *Dvorak in America*, 123-148. To date no major study has appeared on either Maurice Arnold or Will Marion Cook—although historical background and music by both are frequently featured in programs offered at the annual Scott Joplin Festival in Sedalia, Missouri.

19. For the most detailed history of the Conservatory extant, see Emanuel Rubin's chapter, "Dvorak at the National Conservatory," in my *Dvorak in America*, 53-81.

20. Antonin Dvorak, "Music in America," 430-431.

21. Antonin Dvorak, "The Real Value of Negro Melodies," 28.

22. Antonin Dvorak, "Dvorak's first references to native American music appears in "Dvorak on His New Work," *New York Herald*, December 15, 1893, 11; and "Dr. Dvorak's Great Symphony," *New York Herald*, December 16, 1893, 8.

23. Antonin Dvorak, "Music in America," 433.

24. MacDowell's statement is quoted in Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World*, 415. Dvorak's article in the *New York Herald* of May 21, 1893, was reprinted in the *Boston Herald*, May 28, 1893. The *Herald* editor, Frederick Bacon, solicited reactions by prominent Boston musicians. An invaluable documentation of the New England response to Dvorak's pronouncements is contained in two articles by Adrienne Block: "Boston Talks Back to Dvorak, *I.S.A.M. Newsletter*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (May 1989), 10-11, 15; and "Dvorak, Beach, and American Music," in Richard Crawford and H. Allen Lott and Carol J. Oja, Eds., *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock* (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan P, 1990), 256-280. The quotation is from "Boston Talks Back to Dvorak," 15.

25. Charles Hamm, "Dvorak, Stephen Foster, and American National Song," in my *Dvorak in America*, 149-150.

26. Adrienne Block, "Dvorak's Long American Reach," in my *Dvorak in America*, 157. An excellent overview of this subject is in Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1983), 410-413. Richard Crawford, speaking at the Dvorak Conference in New Orleans, February 10-14, 1991, presented a list of eight music histories from Elson (1904) to Hitchcock (1988) in which Dvorak's influence is discussed.

27. Evelyn Davis Culbertson, "Arthur Farwell's Early Efforts on Behalf of American Music," *American Music*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 1987), 167.

28. Antonin Dvorak, "For National Music," *Chicago Tribune*, August 13, 1893. The article is quoted in its entirety in my *Dvorak in America*, 361-362.

29. An investigation into the supposedly "Indian" aspects of Dvorak's String Quintet appears in John Clapham, "Dvorak and the American Indian," 863-867. For a discussion of Dvorak's pentonicism see David Beveridge, "Sophisticated Primitivism: The Significance of Pentatonicism in Dvorak's American Quartet, Current Musicology, No. 24 (1977), 25-35. And Gerald Abraham concludes that these traits of American music "attracted him because they were closely related to

something already present in him, something which they helped to clarify and crystallize." See Gerald Abraham, "Dvorak's Musical Personality," in Abraham, Ed., Antonin Dvorak, His Achievement (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1942), 204.]

30. "Dvorak on His New Work," New York Herald, December 15, 1893, 11.]

31. Michael Beckerman, "The Dance of Pau-Puk-Keewis and the Song of Chibiabos: Reflections on the Scherzo of Dvorak's Symphony "From the New World," in my *Dvorak in America*, 210-227.]

32. The letter is quoted in its entirety in my *Dvorak in America*, 399-400.

33. Quoted in Michael Beckerman, "The Master's Little Joke: Antonin Dvorak and the Mask of Nation," in Beckerman, Ed., *Dvorak and His World*, 141.

34. Quoted in Michael Beckerman, "The Master's Little Joke: Antonin Dvorak and the Mask of Nation," in Michael Beckerman, Ed., *Dvorak and His World*, 141.

35. See my "Dvorak Conference in New Orleans," *The Sonneck Society Bulletin for American Music*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Fall 1991), 100-102.

36. Dvorak heard several Foster songs from his associate, the black singer/composer Harry T. Burleigh. As proof of his respect, Dvorak wrote a choral arrangement of Foster's "Old Folks at Home" which was premiered on January 23, 1894 at the Madison Square Garden Concert Hall. Dvorak conducted and the two soloists were African Americans, Sissieretta Jones and Burleigh. The work was not published and was not performed publicly again until April 18, 1990, when the University of Pittsburgh and its Department of Music presented it in concert in Pittsburgh. It was finally published in facsimile by Sixty-Eight Publishers in August 1991. The manuscript is preserved today in the Stephen Foster Memorial archives in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. See Deane L. Root's chapter, "The Stephen Foster-Antonin Dvorak Connection" in my *Dvorak in America*, 243-254.

37. By the late 1890s almost every major music publisher had an office on or near 28th Street (and along Broadway from Madison to Greeley Square) which was dubbed "Tin Pan Alley" by the composer Monroe H. Rosenfeld. This development coincided with the fading of the popularity of the minstrel show as the most popular American stage entertainment and its replacement by the vaudeville show by Tony Pastor. Charles Hamm has pointed out that the first Tin Pan Alley composers were contemporaries of Claude Debussy, Richard Strauss,

Gustav Mahler, and Arnold Schoenberg: "There was almost no common ground now between popular and classical music, no possibility that a piece of contemporary art music could be fashioned into a popular song." See Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America*, 294. A comprehensive one-volume history is David A. Jasen, *Tin Pan Alley* (New York: Donald I. Fine, 1988).

38. It is questionable that Dvorak might have seen Edison's newly-developed motion picture device, a peep-show contraption called the Kinetoscope, at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in the summer of 1893. Edison's movie studio in West Orange, New Jersey, was fully outfitted by May 1893, and some film historians claim Edison displayed the device at the Fair. I am not convinced this could have happened. However, it is entirely likely that Dvorak could have seen it later during his wanderings in New York City at the Holland Brothers kinetoscope parlor at 1155 Broadway, which opened on April 14, 1894.

39. Quoted in Josef Skvorecky, "Every Silly Trifle," in *Iowa Dvorak Centennial Symposium Abstracts*, 5-9. Mr. Skvorecky is also the author of a novelization of Dvorak's life, *Dvorak in Love* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987). For his own account of the writing of this book, see the chapter, "How I wrote Dvorak in Love," in my *Dvorak in America*, 320-331.

WORK AND THE ENVIRONMENT: TOWARD RECONCILIATION

Robert Sessions

My task in this article is difficult because work and the environment usually are not seen as related topics. My task is doubly difficult because neither work nor the environment usually are seen as important subjects for the humanities. I hope to convince you, nevertheless, that these topics must be conjoined, and that you and I ought to be major actors, in both our scholarship and our teaching, in the critically needed dual transformation of how we work and of how we play out our roles as citizens of environmental communities. What the world needs now are new (or perhaps refurbishing quite old) **stories**, and I believe you and I, above all else, are story tellers.

You can see or hear the headlines almost daily, and they have come to echo a common fear and a way of thinking: "Spotted Owl vs. 20,000 Jobs," "Push for Wetlands Threatens Iowa Farms," "Ranchers Fight the Prairie Dog," "Brazilian Peasants Struggle Against the Jungle," "Will Conservation Measures Eliminate Jobs?"[1] We are told we have to choose, and given this unhappy either/or situation, most Americans, probably usually reluctantly, side with humans against animals or plants or soil or an ecosystem. Many environmentalists contend the scales should tip the other way; but whichever side people take, conceptually and practically the die seems cast: we must choose **either** jobs **or** the environment.

Environmentalists, while growing in numbers, are a rather weak voice in this conflict. In America no politician can rise to national prominence who advocates reducing jobs or a no-growth economy in order to preserve or recreate a healthy environment. Our dominant economic paradigm is one where growth ("within certain limits," it is said) is an automatic good, and development is the fuel that stokes its fires. For most people the practical bottom line is jobs: developers take the raw materials of the earth and turn them into jobs. In this value-added process, human labor turns something of lesser value into a product of greater value. In the supercharged and too often unanalyzed system of values built into our economic reckoning, the bottom line dominates: things are valued for their contribution to the economy. From within this system we tend to think of economic values such as costs and benefits, profits and efficiency, instead of environmental values such as biodiversity, ecosystemic health, homeostasis or the inherent worth of natural beings.

Even when environmental values do prevail, environmentalists find themselves in the awkward position of being perceived as against development and jobs, and, hence, against the well-being of workers and

their families.[2] The conceptual framework of jobs versus the environment is so widely used and is such a powerful ideological tool that clear-headedness about the issues involved is precluded, and practical solutions that do more than create an uneasy truce or "pragmatic compromise" are as rare as members of an endangered species. Even most environmentally conscious people, who realize that industrial economies are the major source of environmental degradation in the modern world, still feel the pull of jobs against the environment. And, while increasing numbers of people see that excesses such as consumerism, mindless technological use, and the notion that growth is automatically good must be ended if environmental health is to be preserved, few are able to extract themselves from the force of this framework of choice. I believe the reason this dualism is so powerful is that the peculiar jobs system found in the United States and other industrialized nations, and the economic and social systems of which it is a part, are the loci of many of the central values and conceptual frameworks of our culture. Without satisfactory conceptual and practical resolutions of the jobs/environment conflict, the outlook for convivial communities that include healthy natural environments is dim. What we as humanities teachers have to offer is something quite small: an idea, or metaphor. But if some faulty ideas and metaphors can create species extinction and the like, better ones might save an ecosystem.

I. Jobs Versus the Environment: A False and Dangerous Dichotomy

Practically, our environmental destructiveness is absurd. In the pursuit of the good life, our way of living and working destroys the very basis of the good life we seek.[3] For example, in Iowa where I live, farmers for a century have been "mining" the soil in such a way that the "gold" (topsoil) literally has been washed to the sea. The tall grass prairie that covered Iowa for eons laid up two to six feet of rich topsoil, and in most places that legacy has been reduced to a few inches (in some areas only subsoil remains!). Iowa farmers have always cared deeply about themselves, their families and their offspring, and about the land that supports their lives. Yet they have become a part of a way of working that requires them to destroy the "ground of their being," the soil that sustains their livelihood and their lives. Iowa farms, like farms everywhere in industrialized societies, have, as Marx predicted nearly a century and a half ago, become industrialized. Wendell Berry calls this great transformation in farm culture the change from agri-culture to agri-business,[4] and agribusiness is the farm version of what I call the **modern jobs system**.

My Iowa illustration can help us see further dimensions of the practical and conceptual issues that underlie the jobs/environment conflict. The farming practices of Iowa farmers, especially since the rise of chemical

farming after the second world war, have sullied the waters farmers, their families and their livestock drink (and, of course, drinking water for non-farmers has been poisoned as well). Many farmers[5] and their helpers and families have become ill from being near these "necessary ingredients" in this way of farming. Furthermore, in rural America, as in third world countries everywhere,[6] women (and children), especially poor women and women of color, are harmed disproportionately to the rest of the population. Thus, as we shall argue in the next section, agricultural practices are feminist issues, as well as issues for the humanities teacher and scholar.

As farming has become increasingly mechanized, allowing one farmer to do the work done by a hundred or more a century ago, Iowa farmers are seeing their families and communities disintegrate.[7] And as the increasingly "irrelevant" (according to the values of agribusiness) children, women and farm workers leave rural America in droves, they expand the potential workforces in cities where technological advances have decreased the number of jobs, especially production jobs, for urban dwellers. Thus the jobs system of agribusiness is responsible for far more than the erosion of family farms, rural communities and general rural well being in rural America. It has contributed to those same problems in towns and cities across the country.

Still further absurdities abound. In order to stay afloat in the current agricultural economy, farmers need to produce ever more crops.[8] They do this by pushing their land and livestock to their limits. They put more land into production; and, as an extension of the second strategy, behaving as corporations (which they usually are), they buy each other out and gain the advantages of "economies of scale." As agriculture becomes increasingly "efficient" (according to this economic model) Iowa farms can reach 2-4000 acres, and the rural neighborhoods and small towns that support farmers slip into oblivion as rural populations and economic activities decline.[9]

Consider briefly some of the features of this decline of rural culture.[10] Through increased mechanization American farmwork has become no less dangerous than it was a century ago, but it has become lonelier.[11] Instead of being a very social and communal activity as it was a century ago in America, or as it still is in societies with pre-industrial agricultural practices, most farming in contemporary America is done in isolation. Before pre-agribusiness, rural communities were characterized by shared needs, work, materials, and joys and sorrows. Today, farmers increasingly are supported by their banks and machines rather than their neighbors and friends. In rural America solitariness is replacing the solidarity of old-style farm communities. Furthermore, farmers' families have become smaller and less close-knit, as the locus of social life has

shifted from home and neighborhood to area schools, towns, cities, and national cultural life (through electronic media especially). As farmwork (like work throughout our economy) became industrialized, as farming became less centered in home economics and more tied to the marketplace, the new division of labor has separated men's work from women's work, and children from parents. Fewer and fewer farm families work side by side at common and complementary labor; instead, increasingly the economic as well as the social and cultural activities of farm families are scattered and disintegrated.[12] The proverbial idyllic life of the American Jeffersonian yeoman farmer, a life of hard, honest and convivial work done in close families and communities, insofar as it ever existed,[13] is, for the most part, a relic of the past. The cultural, social and spiritual life of rural America has been transformed because of the new jobs system of agribusiness.

A parallel disintegration has occurred in the relationships between farmers and their land. While agriculture, if seen from a Paleolithic view of the earth as *magna mater*,[14] has always involved violation of the land (many Amerindians believed that to plow is to violate the natural integrity of the land), in the Christian West until the Industrial Revolution, it at least came under the value system of "shepherding," of land as sacred trust, so that farm work was seen as a sacred activity.[15] With the industrialization of agriculture, especially with the post World War II move to agribusiness, the "sentimental" view of farming as a sacred trust disappeared from all except neoromantic "back to the land" movements. To succeed in agribusiness, land, animals and people must be seen mainly or solely in terms of their economic values: as inputs and outputs, resources and commodities, not as Bessie or golden waves of grain. To use Marx's language, modern agribusiness has driven a wedge between the farm worker and the processes, means and products of production. His land and animals, like his family and community (his "species existence"), increasingly are alienated from the farmer and he from them.

While obviously there is much more to be said about this complex and evolving jobs system of agribusiness, what we have discussed thus far should have made several things clear. First, given the nature of agribusiness, the disintegration of families and communities, and the sexism inherent in modern farming are intimately connected with the environmental degradation found in contemporary farming practices. The underlying logic[16] of these practices precludes non-economic values most farmers probably believe in: when a premium is put on economic growth, competition and a reduction to "bottom line" values, the world becomes "despiritualized,"[17] other dimensions such as the joy of work or aesthetic values become secondary if not irrelevant, and even family and community life are valuable only insofar as they contribute to economic life as it is narrowly conceived in modern economic systems. However noble or

desirable their ends, the means farmers "choose" (or were forced to accept in order to perform and keep their jobs, such as the heavy use of chemicals or cultivating highly erodible land) ultimately are contradictory to their goals. To their credit, many farmers realize that in farming, as in the rest of life, any ultimate distinction between means and ends is a mistake, and many farmers have tried and are trying to find alternative ways of working that do not destroy the environment or community and family. Some farmers have succeeded to some extent in their attempts to farm in ways that do not destroy their soil and their chosen ways of life, but the system is very large, very entrenched, and very powerful.

A second point that this example illustrates is that the modern jobs system, which pits jobs against the environment, is a recent invention. Other people at other times, and farmers within and outside American agribusiness today, have made their living in ways that did not generate the degree of alienation from people and land, nor the environmental degradation, that our modern agricultural jobs system produces. Furthermore, the fact that this system is an invention, however intractable it might seem at the moment, can give us real hope: we could, if properly organized and clear-headed, create a different system. I believe we will be better equipped to do so if we can comprehend how bizarre our modern jobs system actually is.

II. The Modern Jobs System: Environmentally, Socially and Economically Dysfunctional

In a recent article Karen J. Warren describes patriarchy as a dysfunctional system: "In a functional system, the rules and roles tend to be clear, respectful, negotiable; they can be revised,negotiated, changed. Problems tend to be openly acknowledged and resolved. In a dysfunctional system, the rules tend to be confused and covert, rigid and unchanging. A high value tends to be placed on control; dysfunctional systems tend to display an exaggerated rationality and focus on rule-governed reason....Dysfunctional systems are often maintained through systematic denial...[and] this denial need not be conscious, intentional, or malicious...furthermore, dysfunctional social systems often leave their members feeling powerless or helpless to make any significant changes." (Warren 1994, 125) I would add that a dysfunctional system is marked by its inability to meet the real needs of those whom it is meant to serve—it is an inherently flawed system. Warren alludes to this striking feature (striking because even though a dysfunctional system fails over and over to deliver what it promises, people keep the system) when she says "When patriarchy is understood as a dysfunctional system, this 'unmanageability' [patriarchy cannot 'manage its affairs equitably and justly'] can be seen for what it is—a predictable consequence of patriarchy." (129)

As a first attempt to comprehend the dysfunctionality of our jobs system, consider what Andre Gorz calls "compensatory consumption" (Gorz, Ch. 1). Each of us has practiced compensatory consumption. Some of us compensate for the pain of a conflict by eating some "sinful" food or drinking a soothing beverage. Others go shopping and compensate for a loss or some suffering with an item of clothing, a new record or an automobile. Not all of our compensatory behavior is undesirable, of course, and by no means are we always compensating for what happens (or does not happen) on our jobs. Nevertheless, according to Gorz, a great deal of what people today compensate for is work-related, whether from stress or lack of meaning on the job, or from other problematic dimensions of their lives that are related to work. Furthermore, since much compensatory behavior is consumptive and therefore usually costs money, the amount of work we must do increases as we engage in further compensatory consumption. The circle of work and consumption comes full around and speeds up with every turn!

Add to this psycho-logic of work and compensatory consumption the huge motivational machinery of modern public relations,[15] which from the perspective of dysfunctionality plays the dual roles of the enabler and the tempter, and we have a powerful trap. If modern workers want to participate in the goods of their society and culture, they must do work that is (to a great measure) inherently unsatisfying to their real needs, and advertising tells them what they should want to meet those needs, even though what they thus come to want cannot do so. It seems that, on the one hand, advertisers do not want people actually to be satisfied; rather, they want people continually to have insatiable desires and buy their products. But on the other hand, it is crucial that compensatory consumers feel their wants are their own. How else could people believe they were "free" when they were acting like addicts in a dysfunctional system? (In her discussion of patriarchy as a dysfunctional system, Warren focuses on how such a set of beliefs is crucial for the overall system to operate.) Thus without this enabling belief structure ("consuming frees me to express and create myself"), people might begin to see how contrary to their real needs compensatory consumption really is.

Although both men and women in America practice compensatory consumption, women are the chief targets of advertisers. This happens, I believe, both because women have been given the support role (they are assigned to play "back up" – Illich calls this "shadow work"), and because women's exclusions from male sources of meaning and power have left them especially vulnerable to compensatory consumption. As a result of their supportive and secondary roles in this system, women buy most of the goods needed for running the household and are the main consumers of diets, plastic surgery, cosmetics and other forms of personal feel-better

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production.

A second way to probe the dysfunctionality of our jobs system is to look at what leisure has become for us. Karen Fox shows that the conception and practice of leisure can reveal a great deal about a culture's work. In our patriarchal jobs system, work that is typically done by women as supporters of men commonly is not viewed as real (paid) work at all, but as "women's" (unpaid) work, thus giving men that "freedom" from work called leisure, but leaving women's work and leisure in the shadows of unclarity. Leisure within this patriarchal system becomes a form of hegemony: since only men work, then only men need leisure because women never really work (and thus have to "work" while men are at leisure). In certain respects this changes when women join the jobs-for-pay part of our jobs system, but women often clearly are damned if they do work on paying jobs as well as if they do not: working women continue to do most of the shadow work (all the work needed to run a household and to keep the family's workers on the job) after their jobs are done, and often they feel they are slighting the children (child care is "women's work," after all).

This system is not only dysfunctional for women, however; men, too, suffer from lack of real leisure. Fox argues that real leisure should not be defined and valued in terms of "freedom" from working; instead we should define it and gauge its worth in terms of caring relationships, play and meaning (including self expression). Many students of contemporary culture have noted that for all-too-many men as well as women, our leisure is more like putting salve on wounds than it is like play.[19]

Judith McGaw contends, in an article on the social history of modern work, that even though the modern jobs system is friendlier in many ways to men than to women, men also are wounded and stunted by it. McGaw believes that a major feature of industrialization was to change the geography of work from a situation where men and women both were "housebound," where they worked together in a home economics, to work done in "separate spheres" (men at the factory and women at home). She suggests that even though men's work in their separate sphere was propped up by wages, they suffered great loss: they lost the flexibility, interest, diversity, and craftsmanship of home work. They also gained several industrial by-products: boredom, alienation, and a lack of opportunity to socialize and develop themselves. At the same time women, in their "inferior sphere" (which it was—and is—in terms of status, pay, respect, etc.), worked in highly relational ways on diverse tasks requiring advanced skills; thus, their personal and social strengths persisted while men's were weakened. McGaw makes the same point as Warren concerning the contribution indigenous women could make if taken seriously instead of being dominated: if men (and women) could learn from

what women still remember about working, communities and nature, we would have the basis for much healthier communities (including nonhuman nature). And if Fox is correct that leisure should be based on caring relationships rather than on consumption and separation ("freedom"), women have a great deal to teach men about leisure.

Fox's greatest challenge, though, is to the work/leisure dichotomy itself. She points out that in many societies work and leisure were/are not separate. Both play time and work time were done in social and playful ways[20], thus cutting through our dichotomy of work and leisure. We will return to this suggestive point in the final section of this essay.

A third way to see the dysfunctionality of our jobs system is to think of how it distributes wealth. Adam Smith, a main architect of our current economic world, was a moral philosopher who, contrary both to many advocates and opponents of capitalism, held no brief for entrepreneurs. He granted essentially unlimited accumulation of wealth to capitalists in order to improve the lot of the poor. For Smith, the **only** virtue of unbridled material selfishness was as a means to the end of material betterment for ordinary people. Smith and the system he helped create gave a kind of promissory note: if you will be willing to put up with the hardships of work within industrial society, you will receive a substantial (and increasing?[21]) share of the wealth. For a short while in the United States and other industrialized societies, Smith's system seemed to work: access to good-paying jobs was fairly easy for "most" workers (except, of course, women, people of color, the handicapped, etc.) during several decades of this century. But with the onset of automation and the internationalization of the economy, the system's payoff on this promissory note was short-lived. Today fewer and fewer people in American and other industrialized societies have access, through jobs, to the ever-growing wealth produced. Thus at the heart of this system is an increasingly unacceptable result: its central purpose is not being served. Seen through this lens, **if** Smith's jobs system was not dysfunctional from the outset, it has **become** dysfunctional even for white men. The chief way apologists for this system rationalize this fatal divergence from Smith's putative goal of improving "mankind's" lot is to change the goal: now what counts simply is the ever-increasing generation of wealth.

Does the fact that the modern jobs system is failing to meet the needs of its workers mean either that people lack the initiative and ingenuity to make things, or that we are running out of work to be done? On the contrary, anyone who is half awake can see that we have tremendous work to be done (both in terms of importance and sheer volume) and that there are countless people ready and able to do it. Not only is there the obvious need to repair and rebuild our infrastructure of roads, bridges, water works and the like, but there is incalculable work

needed to repair our natural and social environments, to rebuild our biotic and social communities. The problem is that this work falls outside of the jobs system; it is not rewarded by those who control the wealth. Putting the issue in these terms shows finally what ails our way of working: we face a powerful crisis of values. A society as vastly wealthy as the United States that cannot manage to see that its children are safe, healthy and well-educated, or that cannot provide its people with the basic amenities and securities of life, either has an impoverished set of values, a sorry lack of imagination, or both.

Probably the quickest way to show a final central feature of our dysfunctional jobs system is to return to our farming example. We said that one of the central tragic ironies of contemporary farm life is that farmers in significant ways knowingly participate in the destruction of their ways of life, and that this irony results from their seemingly unavoidable participation in the agribusiness model. To have a job farming, they seem to have to "choose" environmental destruction as a "natural" course of events. Town and city dwellers are caught in the same trap: the ways of life we have "chosen," wrapped as they are around our jobs system, predictably will also destroy the cultural and natural grounds upon which they are built.

We cannot continue this way. But to suggest that we consume less threatens people at a most vulnerable point. To suggest that people give up on our jobs system and its concomitant consumerism in a mobile and rapidly changing society where traditional supports such as religion, a stable social and economic order, family continuity and the like are disappearing or gone, is very threatening. Clearly such suggestions must be accompanied by viable alternatives, and here the humanities can play an especially important role. For what we need, besides the kind of retrospective analysis given above, are strong visions, imaginative new images and stories about life without the harmful hierarchies that we have discussed.

III. Toward a Functional Work System[23]

Often small ideas, small changes in perception, or nuanced changes in interpretations of stories can make large differences. I believe that if we were to make a set of such alterations, and were to enact them concretely in our lives, many of the issues I discussed would be resolvable. For our purposes the key small idea, of course, is that **good** work and environmental destruction are incompatible. A related idea is that automation could be a very good thing **if** we were to change our jobs system to one wherein people were compensated properly (including real leisure time) for doing environmentally, socially, and personally edifying work. In what follows I hope to show that other crucial ideas, images and stories from the humanities are vital for creating a healthy and humane way of life.

Before modern economies and the Industrial Revolution, very little work was done for pay. Anthropologists tell us that in most small-scale societies people spent relatively little of their time doing what we might call "making a living" and much of their time "playing" (including socializing, preparing for and performing rituals, courting, and making music).[24] Marshall Sahlins, e.g., estimates that even people living in harsh physical environments often spent less than three or four hours each day working. Equally significant, their work as well as their leisure time was richly social and often highly ritualized; thus the anthropological evidence from the past reinforces what Fox tells us about work and leisure in many non-industrialized societies today.

Implicit in the anthropological descriptions of small scale societies is that besides our basic material needs, we have very human needs, in James Hillman's words, to love and be loved (Hillman, 37). We need a rich and caring social life. Feminists of every shade agree that healthy human relationships are at the heart of healthy communities; ecological feminists (ecofeminists),[25] feminists who believe ecology should be feminist and feminism ecological, include both human and nonhuman dimensions in their descriptions of such communities. Allen Durning contends that consumerism fails of its own weight both because the level and kinds of material consumption involved cannot be sustained and because consumerism cannot provide its most basic promise, happiness. Durning contends that empirical and philosophical studies indicate that happiness has far more to do with great quantities of leisure time and with a rich social life than it does with material abundance (or over-abundance). While there are no formulae for structuring more healthy communities, ecofeminists like Warren and Fox make a powerful argument that we must eliminate hierarchies of dominance from our systems, and somehow we must dramatically reduce our consumption. I believe that if we were to make work more sociable and to create (once again) rich social lives we would go a long ways toward these goals.

Some might argue that good work would not get done if the workplace was too sociable, but all the discussions of, and moves toward, "democratic workplaces" and non-hierarchical structures in business and industry belie this view. Sociality and good work are more than merely compatible: in this age of "smart machines" when humans are needed mainly to do non-mechanical labor, even the captains of industry are coming to see that the former is a prerequisite of the latter.

A second dimension of our vision of functional, as opposed to dysfunctional, work is that work is as basic a human need as love.[26] Marx contended that people need to work to "create themselves"—to discover who they are, to express themselves, to be recognized, to leave their marks, and so on. A major complaint about industrial work, especially, is that it

reduces people to a state wherein their worth and work are gauged by the infamous "bottom line." Thus, one change we must make in our work, whether paid or unpaid, is to render it more human, to create work that rewards and generates the flourishing of the finest human possibilities. This goal has been central to a wide variety of proposals to alter modern work; what ecofeminism has to offer our thinking about Right Livelihood (Buddhism) or Unalienated Labor (Marx) or New Work (Bergmann) are the links between women and nature plus a strong emphasis on caring relationships in context.

Ecofeminists, especially, have helped us begin to see the gendered character of how people in the west, especially men, have been split off from nature. Nature/culture dualism informs our conscious and unconscious minds and is built into our behaviors and institutions. We are alienated from our bodies, from the nonhuman world, from each other, and from our work. Insofar as nature is an 'other' seen merely as a resource base, we cannot have good work because we fail to appreciate the full range of values in that with which we work and because we fail to develop our own full possibilities.[7] The parallel to male/female relationships illustrates these two points powerfully: insofar as men treat women as lesser beings, men not only will fail to develop truly mutual and caring relationships with women, but men themselves also will not grow in fully human ways.

Max Oelschlaeger (1993) asks us to think in the following way about nature/culture dualism (with its concomitant woman/man hierarchy) and its impact on men as well as on women and nature. As western men have constructed their civilization on the denial of their own death and sexuality, they have built on a false assumption that men can control and transcend nature (death and sexuality). The denials upon which western civilization rests not only devalue, degrade and destroy women and nature but also give men a false sense of their own selves. The selves of western men, seen through this lens, strive to conquer and control, but they ultimately are unhappy because they cannot know or satisfy their own desires.

Thus Oelschlaeger, a deep ecologist, as well as ecofeminists who for some time have been seeing the need to reconstruct western civilization in similar dramatic ways, would likely agree that a good place to begin this reconstruction would be to eliminate the hierarchies of domination built into our practices and institutions. If our jobs system did not function to distinguish "real work" (paid labor) from "not really work" (unpaid labor), or different kinds of paid work from each other, we would go a long ways toward making our jobs system more humane, fulfilling, and just. Ending these value-hierarchical features of our jobs system would also help curtail people's consumption, for eliminating hierarchies of domination in our jobs system would reduce dramatically the insecurities for which people now

compensate through unhealthy competition and consumption.

If our jobs system is a dysfunctional system, then what I am proposing is a **liberation movement**: a liberation **from** being addicts and enablers, dominators and subservients in a dysfunctional system **to** living and working within a web of mutually caring relationships. If people are liberated from the vicious circles of work and consumption, they will be able to curb their appetites for the scarce resources of the earth. Furthermore, the dynamic of insecurity motivates people to lord it over those below: lower working class people lord it over the jobless, whites over blacks, men over women, and most of us in industrial societies lord it over nature. To short-circuit this cycle by reducing and eliminating the insecurities generated by the jobs system and its accompanying consumerist motivators would be to reduce the need to feel superior or to dominate anything, including nature.

An objection to this vision of good work and environmental harmony is that perhaps such a vision made sense in a jobs-rich world, but with increasing international competition and the shrinking need for human labor because of automation, there are fewer and fewer jobs, especially good ones, to go around. This objection returns us to the central dysfunctionality of our jobs system: the modern jobs system no longer is (if it ever was) a satisfactory means to Adam Smith's most basic end, the distribution of wealth. With millions of people jobless and homeless, including the typical working class and white collar white man, the illusion the system works is eroding as rapidly as Iowa topsoil.

A significant reason people in American society engage in personally, socially and environmentally dysfunctional behaviors such as compensatory consumption is **time**, time spend on the job or doing the shadow work required to maintain workers for the job. With significantly less time for relationships and for themselves than they need or want, those with jobs must compensate. But with machines able to do more and more of the work humans once did, workers now need only do uniquely or especially human tasks, and employers can pay them living wages for working fewer hours. If people had more time for truly meaningful and caring relationships, for community building activities--which anthropologists tell us are the heart of the convivial life in many small-scale societies—they would have less need to consume the earth and more need to spend time in and preserve healthy natural and social environments.

Postscript

Sometime during the 1970s or 1980s, relevance became a bad word in both humanities expression and humanities eduction. The quest for relevance, we were told in a thousand ways, renders art and instruction didactic, and leads to political correctness. While I believe that the

overzealous championing of an agenda can – and has – led to many of the silly and aggravating myopias we now label "PC," the humanities never have been, and never should be, seen as irrelevant. I have tried to show that the kinds of thought, metaphors, and stories that are at the heart of all the humanities are most needed as humans devastate the world. They are needed not to provide us with catchy cliches in some ideological war against evil capitalists, but rather precisely to help us avoid falling into such ideological traps.

I believe a second major reason the humanities have shied away from discussing work or the environment, or their relations, is because of what David Ehrenfeld calls "the arrogance of humanism." Ehrenfeld contends that modern humanism played a central role in the human/nature split, and has undergirded modernism's reductions of work, women, people of color, the poor, and the environment. A humanities informed by this modern secular and materialistic turn views work and the environment as unworthy topics for expression and pedagogy. Certainly not all of the rich and diverse things that fall under the broad umbrella of the humanities in the modern world are guilty of this "arrogance," but there often is a tendency, in humanities departments, to look at "high" rather than "low" art, or to choose more "edifying" leisure activities to discuss. If my perspective makes sense, these very distinctions are part of the problems I have discussed, and humanities teachers are among the people who can help the most in overcoming the dysfunctional systems in which we live and have our being.

ENDNOTES

[1]Each of these headlines was taken from the *Des Moines Register* during 1992.

[2]Sometimes, of course, the environment/jobs conflict is inflated or even wholly imaginary. Perhaps only 10,000 loggers will be out of work soon if the remaining 4% of the original virgin forests in Washington and Oregon are not put to the axe; or perhaps, as some environmentalists claim, the real threat to logging comes from the replacement of old growth forests with tree farms that can be harvested by a few workers operating sophisticated machinery. Nevertheless, in many places the conflicts between jobs and the environment are very real.

[3]Oelschlaeger says that "Sustainabililty, whatever else that concept might entail, is a formal requirement for any definition of a good society." (1993, 20)

[4]Berry in *The Unsettling of America* focuses on the changes in culture that result from these profound changes in farming practices.

[5]Fink and other feminist scholars point out that in America 'farmer' usually refers to **man**, while women are usually called "women farmers."

[6]See Warren (1993) as well as Boserup, Monson, Creevey and Charleton.

[7]Rural life in America has changed dramatically in the 125 years since the Industrial Revolution hit agriculture. Historians contend that the American Civil War was to a great extent about the transformation of American agricultural economics to industrial modes. Before this great transformation hit American agriculture, 95% of Americans lived and worked on farms. One hundred years later, 95% lived and worked in cities and towns, and by 1990 less than 2% lived and earned a living on farms. Thus the disintegration of rural communities, where in Iowa for example we are witnessing the disappearance of stores, banks, schools and government offices from more and more small towns, is a continuation of a long industrialization of American agriculture. See Cochrane, Fink, Kramer, Sachs, Edwards et al., and Poincelot.

[8]To understand the irony as well as absurdity of this situation, keep in mind that this is happening at the very same time that the over-abundance of crops like corn, wheat and soybeans keeps prices so low that farmers must be subsidized by government programs in order to stay in business, and at the very same time that many farmers in Iowa are idling land through yet other government programs.

[9]Jane Smiley's recent novel paints a grim picture of what happens to people, their families and communities when this "war" to own the largest farm occurs.

[10]Please bear in mind that although there are differences between farmwork and more common nonfarm jobs, most of what we find with farmwork applies to other sectors of the economy as well.

[11]Fink shows that in Iowa, e.g., while farm women are still essential to family farms, increasingly their contributions are made by working in town to bring home needed cash. The double irony is that in American agriculture today women (rather than men, predominantly) leave the farm to work in the cash economy, but that this move in significant ways marginalizes them **as farmers**. On the other hand, it would be interesting to discover the extent to which these women, so well described by McGaw (1982, 1989), carry their rich social culture to the workplaces which typically have been a source of depletion for men.

[12]Unfortunately, as we suggested above, as farms in developing countries

become parts of industrial systems, and thus participate in cash economies, men tend to become more identified with farming and women become further depreciated. See Boserup, Creevey and Charleton, and especially Sachs. Also see the U.S. Commerce Dept. and the Iowa State Extension Service reports.

[13]In rough historical terms McGaw and other social historians agree that patriarchy become **worse** with industrialization because of the creation of distinct, geographically and economically separated spheres; but none of them argue that this means preindustrial life was not patriarchal nor that it was easy for women or men.

[14]See Oelschlaeger, Chs 1 & 2 of *The Idea of Wilderness*.

[15]There is a large controversy concerning the extent to which Judaism and Christianity are "salvageable" as environmentally benign or friendly frameworks. However, even if one takes a negative position on this debate, the views of farming in Judaism and Christianity are environmentally more desirable than those that undergird agribusiness.

[16]Note how this logic includes Warren's logic of domination (1987). To engage in the reductionism and control necessary for working in this way, nature and women must be reduced to lesser beings in order to be dominated.

[17]The crucial idea here is Hegel's notion of the **draining** of value from the world to God, in "The Unhappy Consciousness" in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*. At the very least nature and women become valued only instrumentally. Many other values get downplayed or ignored, including, possibly the "spirit" in a mystical sense.

[18]Many of the works critical of consumer culture focus on these characteristics. See Ewing, Schiller, and Durning in particular.

[19]Schor, e.g., contends that the modern workers who watch the most television are those who work the most hours (Japanese and Americans). She also links, as does Fox, leisure and consumption: think of shopping as a favorite leisure time activity of increasing numbers of Americans, but especially of women. But consider as well consuming nature activities such as the growing eco-tourism industry or various adventures such as white water rafting or African safaris. None of these experiences/activities in itself is contrary to a healthy relationship with nature, but they becomes so when they are done from the impulse of compensation, of salving the wounds of work.

[20]Besides the references Fox gives in her article, I would point especially to the work of anthropologists such as Lee, Sahlins, Diamond, Lee and

DeVore, and Levi-Strauss.

[21]Thinkers like Marx and Proudhon, of course, believe that the system always was dysfunctional, because many people were excluded from the outset, because so many were disfigured in the process, **and** because it is theft.

[22]Warren first makes her case for these connections in her 1987 article.

[23]Much of what is suggested in this section is spelled out in greater detail in the third part of *Working in America*.

[24]See Sahlins, Diamond, Lee, Lee and DeVore, and Levi-Strauss.

[25]Ecological feminism as a movement in both feminism and environmentalism has existed since the early 1980s. There are a number of collections of articles on this philosophy in process including Warren. See *Hypatia*, Spring, 1991, and *Plant*.

[26]Many people over the ages have made this point. See Sessions and Wortman, and especially the work of Hillman and Bergmann.

[27]Palmer develops this point beautifully in a chapter called "The Woodcarver."

[28]See Hunnicutt and Schor.

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THE FACE OF NATURE: THE REEMERGENCE OF A GREEN MAN

Hank Galmish

As F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* comes to its elegiac ending, the narrator Nick Carraway wanders down to the beach to reflect:

> ....as the moon rose higher the inessential houses began to melt away until gradually I became aware of the old island here that flowered once for Dutch sailors' eyes—a fresh, green breast of the new world. Its vanished trees, the trees that had made way for Gatsby's house, had once pandered in whispers to the last and greatest of all human dreams; for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder.(185)

In the world of Gatsby, the world of appearance, the face of nature has been replaced by the enormous face of Doctor T. J. Eckelburg who blindly gazes over the "valley of ashes." On the other hand, the face of nature that once whispered the deepest dreams of the human soul has been decimated and replaced by the face of technology and advertising; against this backdrop the tragedy of Gatsby is enacted.

Oxford Green Man
England, 14th Century

The current ecological movement is committed to reversing the devastation brought by the "valley of ashes" of our manufacturing and life styles. In this paper, I maintain that with the interest in recapturing the health of the "green world," there has been a spontaneous reemergence of a "face" by which one can, as Fitzgerald writes, stand "face to face...with something commensurate to [our] capacity for wonder." A long tradition in which nature is recognized as having a face has been reborn: the Green Man is returning. The

face of nature has reemerged in our own day with renewed vitality and surprising diversity.

In a classic study, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth*, William Anderson traces the history of the Green Man from pre-Christian Egyptian and Celtic sources to the present. In his nuanced discussion Anderson maintains that this archtypal image of a human vegetative, leaf-covered figure represents the first child of mother earth. This foliate figure is most often depicted in myth, ritual, and art as male and is deeply related to the fertility cycles of the natural order. Sir James Frazer in his classic *The Golden Bough* supports Anderson's position in describing many an arcane ritual by which a man was covered in leaves and paraded through the streets of a town on key days in Spring to ensure the fertility of the land. As we go farther back in time, the rituals of the Green Man seem to merge into literal human sacrifice: in the ancient world many people believed that the gift of new life, the gift of Spring, could only be granted through the sacrifice of the old.

The cathedrals and universities of the middle ages present striking testimony of the continued recognition of this face of nature. Anderson's book offers numerous pictures of the numinous foliate faces carved on the bosses or pedestals of the great cathedrals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (the book is valuable alone for this rare collection of pictures). For the average person of pre-renaissance Europe, as in many hunting and gathering (Neolithic) societies, nature was not disembodied material waiting to be exploited. Instead, it was a magical world invested with personal powers of varying types from devils to trolls to angels. The sense of another being present and watching in the woods, for example, would have been as real for a woodcutter a thousand years ago as it still is for a young child walking through an old-growth forest today. Nature was still alive and an active player in the dynamic drama of salvation depicted in the Christian stories, and so we see in countless ways the "face of nature" given its place in that medieval microcosm of the universe, the cathedral.

Anderson continues in his study, as do Frazer and others, to describe the radical nature of the shift that took place with the emergence of the scientific outlook. Two forces, especially, combine as unlikely bedfellows in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to strip nature, as it were, of both its feminine and masculine faces. The first force is the Puritan movement in religion which ins[illegible] on removing all pagan images from the Christian expression, and the second is the birth of modern science with its demythologizing rigor stripping nature of all but its material essences. Between these two forces, both complementary and contradictory, the Green Man is killed.

The process of silencing nature begins in earnest in the sixteenth

century, and it has continued methodically until quite recently. Anderson maintains that in our own times ancient myths have returned both in new scientific thinking and new religious understanding. One example he notes is James Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis, in which the earth is no longer seen as an inorganic sphere of molten metals cooling at its surface, but is now described as a multitude of diverse entities all working together in a complex symbiotic harmony, so closely interconnected that the entire entity can be described as an independent living organism. Of course, the word "Gaia" itself is taken from ancient Greek mythology, and so represents the newer understandings of nature which seem to parallel older ways of viewing the world. When the view of earth as mother reemerges, Anderson maintains, the birth of her son, the Green Man, cannot be far behind.

Anderson's book does an excellent job of following the history of the Green Man archetype through European history, but he does little to connect the study to the American story. By reexamining closely many of our own writers, it is easy to see how we have never fully lost touch with a nature that whispers, of a nature that has a face, of a nature that is alive and that seeks relational identity.

Hawthorne's remarkable story "The Maypole of Merrymount" offers a perfect place to begin our study because it depicts that crucial time period, the sixteenth century, in which an older world view is in the process of being subverted. The story is noteworthy, too, since an actual Green Man ritual is described.

In the story, Hawthorne describes an actual conflict that took place in the Massachusetts colony between the Puritan community and the members of a neighboring community called Mount Wollaston. When spring comes Morton's followers begin their celebrations using the customs brought with them from their motherland: fertility rites, a Maypole, costumes, feasting, dancing, and a ritual Green Man. These activities outrage the stern Puritan neighbors who surprise the revelers, cut down the Maypole, imprison the Green Man, and kill a dancing bear, believing he must be a familiar to Satan. Hawthorne depicts the scene.

> Here might be seen the Salvage Man, well known in heraldry, hairy as a baboon, and girdled with green leaves...Many of this strange company wore fools-caps, and had little bells appended to their garments, tinkling with a silvery sound...Such were the colonists of Merry Mount, as they stood in the broad smile of sunset, round their venerated May-Pole. (173-74)

The "Iron-Men," the neighboring Puritans, are deeply scandalized by these activities and one night surprise the revelers, imprisoning the

leaders and cutting down the pagan May-Pole.

> ...Endicott assaulted the hallowed May-Pole. Nor did it long resist his arm. It groaned with a dismal sound; it showered leaves and rose-buds upon the remorseless enthusiast; and finally, with all its green boughs, and ribbons, and flowers, symbolic of departed pleasures, down fell the banner-staff of Merry Mount. As it sank, tradition says, the evening sky grew darker, and the wood threw forth a more sombre shadow. (180)

A huge part of our attitude toward nature is embedded and symbolized in this incident. There is something threatening and even potentially evil in nature that must be controlled or bound. The action of cutting down the pole encapsulates a crucial theme in American history. Once the Green Man—the mystical sense of the face of nature—is imprisoned, his power made impotent, then the forces of nature are open to our plundering. This cutting-down incident shadows another even more famous incident that has passed into the mythological sense of American identity—George Washington, the father of our country mauling the cherry tree.

In the famous *A History of the Life and Death, Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington* published first in 1800, Mason L. Weems relates the story that has since passed into American legend. But the texts surrounding the incident are interesting too. Weems comments while introducing the cherry tree incident,

> Some, when they look up to the oak, whose giant arms throw a darkening shade over distant acres, or whose single truck lays the keel of a man of war, cannot bear to hear of the time when this mighty plant was an acorn, which a pig could have demolished. But others, who know their value, like to learn the soil and the situation which best produces such noble trees. Thus, parents that are wise, will listen, well pleased, while I relate how moved the steps of the youthful Washington, whose single worth far outweighs all the oaks of Bashan, and the red spicy cedars of Lebanon . (20)

After this introduction, Weems relates the famous incident of the cherry tree. Young George is given a hatchet when he is six years old and, like other young boys, goes about hatcheting anything he finds. Weems writes,

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> One day, in the garden where he often amused himself hacking his mother's pea-sticks, he unluckily tried the edge of his hatchet on the body of a beautiful young cherry-tree, which he barked so terribly, that I don't believe the tree ever got the better of it. (22)

Of course, once George's father discovers that his favorite tree has been butchered, he demands to know who is responsible for such an act.

> "George," said his father, "do you know who killed that beautiful little cherry tree yonder in the garden? "This was a tough question [but George] bravely cried out, "I cannot tell a lie, Pa; you know I cannot tell a lie. I did cut it with my hatchet."—"Run to my arms, you dearest boy," cried his father in transports, "run to my arms; glad am I, George, that you killed my tree; for you have paid me for it a thousand fold. Such an act of heroism in my son is more worth than a thousand trees. . . . (23)

Part of our earliest identity as a country is symbolized by the act of killing a tree—in this story our country's father is us cutting free from our English roots, from our family tree. And yet with the typical ambiguity of the American consciousness, Washington himself is compared to the oak in terms of strength and value. In fact, he is more valuable than the oak and will become the father of a country that had already begun to use its seemingly endless hardwood forests to equip its merchant marine industries and navies with the ships that would dominate the seas within a century.

In the word "wild" entomologically is found the cognate "will." The early consciousness of the United States' experience rooted in the twin forces of Puritanism and scientific rationalism struggled heroically to bend, if not to break, the untamed will that it discovered resisting all claims to dominance by the natural world. The subjecting of the will experienced in the natural order to the order of right reason and Protestant Christianity is a key element in our story as a people, and that struggle can be perceived in the tangential areas where 18th century man felt the resistance of the natural will at work: the American wilderness of dark forests, rugged mountains,and raging rivers; the kingdom of wild animals with all its ferocity and unbridled power; the communities of "savages" that were little better than wild children in need of discipline, be they Africans or Native Americans; the sinister darkness of untamed sexuality always simmering just beneath the surface of the female. Wherever the wild displayed its "face," the role of the hero was to subdue and to tame. Hawthorne writes of this in a religious context, Weems with a political meaning: something in the

American soul embraces the myth of domination and, out of this embrace, our heroes are born.

By the end of the 19th century, mythic giants like Paul Bunyan will have tamed the wild, primitive forests of the continent. Stories of massive deeds and irresistible power were evoked to harness the forces needed to subdue the expansive continent that through the doctrine of "manifest destiny" we came to believe was ours by providential decree. Until very recently the myth was still alive and flourishing in the heroic figures of our literature. In Jack Schaefer's western classic, *Shane*, written in 1949, the mysterious figure Shane shows up one day at the narrator's house at the exact moment when the boy's father is struggling to uproot a stubborn oak that had held out against the domesticating, pastoral efforts of the homesteader; he, like millions of others in search of the American dream, was trying to subdue his own parcel of the wilderness, to make real for himself the Jeffersonian dream of a country of free, yeoman farmers. The struggle between the man and the tree is clearly mythic, and finds its niche perfectly within the ancient tradition stretching back at least to the renaissance. Schaefer describes the tree and the struggle:

> The huge old roots humped out in every direction, some as big around as my waist, pushing out and twisting down into the ground like they would hold there to eternity and past.
>
> Father had been working at it off and on, gnawing at the roots with an axe, ever since he finished poling the corral. The going was slow, even for him...The rare occasions he was real mad about something he would stomp out there and chew into another root.
>
> He went over to the stump now and kicked the nearest root, a smart kick..."Yes," he said. "That's the millstone round my neck. That's the one fool thing about this place I haven't licked yet. But I will. There's no wood ever grew can stand up to a man that's got the strength and the will to keep hammering at it." (13)

The final act of subjugation is happening with all its mythic power: the good wife Marian—"the nicest thing...on God's green earth"—is in the kitchen, the animals are in the corral, and all the land subdued except for this last stubborn oak whose roots seem to stretch down "to eternity and the past." The irony, of course, is that they do, for the tree (the oak especially) has a magical and potent heritage stretching back thousands of years into both the Celtic and the Greek mind sets. The father, Joe Starrett, is struggling with not just a tree, but with the mythic consciousness at the core of his

being, a consciousness that the combined forces of Protestantism and modern science have waged war on for nearly half a millennium. Joe feels the personal note at the core of it all. He tells Shane about the tree and what it means to him:

> He stared at the stump like it might be a person sprouting in front of him. "You know, Shane, I've been feuding with this thing so long I've worked up a spot of affection for it. It's tough. I can admire toughness. The right kind." (13)

Soon the mysterious Shane (like the medieval Boniface come as a missionary to fell the sacred oak worshipped by the Germanic pagans) is enlisted to help in the de-rooting or eradicating process. In a lyrical passage full of mythic woodcutter imagery, the pair are described:

> He [father] could handle an axe mighty well and what impressed you was the strength and will of him making it behave and fight against the tough old wood...What impressed you as Shane found what he was up against and settled to it was the easy way the power in him poured smoothly into each stroke. The man and the axe seemed to be partners in the work. (18)

As they work together, the heroic strength of each is drawn out by the other while the tools used to dismember get bigger and bigger—"[father] was back with the other axe, the big double bladed one that I could hardly heft from the ground...he whirled that big axe as if it was only a kid's tool." (18) The two unite as silent brothers engaged in a mythic struggle against the stubborn, willful powers of the natural world that are given a personal identity even if only inchoate in the minds of the men.

> The striking blade sank in maybe a whole half-inch. At the sound Shane straightened on his side. Their eyes met over the top of the stump and held and neither one of them said a word. Then they swung up their axes and both of them said plenty to that old stump...Their minds were on that old stump and whatever it was that old stump had come to mean to them and they were in a hurry to get at it again. (19-21)

Schaefer has given us a passage which perfectly captures one of the great myths of America: our destiny is to subdue the natural world in all its forms so as to make it a safe and wholesome place, able to sustain the

families typified by the Starrets. The other remarkable thing about Schaefer's description is his use of personalized language; the tree earns respect by having a will of its own, it can be spoken to, even if the words spoken are blows. This tree clearly means far more than the literal words relate—"whatever it was that that old stump had come to mean." Schafer's book stands at the crossroads between a weltanschauung that has led us to a world of ashes and a new world view in which nature is re-enchanted, as Morris Berman so aptly terms it in his text *The Reenchantment of the World* (1989). The archetype of the Green Man has emerged, and as Anderson notes, he has emerged as a direct correlative following the reemergence of the archetype of the earth as Mother. One of the oldest and most honored roles of the Green Man was as protector of his mother; in times of ecological upheaval, he emerges as the counterbalance, and often his image is far from bucolic and peaceful. He often comes with a fierce and menacing demeanor.

The Green Man Re-emerges
Seattle Artist

Once we become awakened to a personalized nature, a world that we can speak to "face to face," then the trip back through the hallowed canons of American literature is an experience of simply remembering what we have always known. Consider, for example, in *Walden* where Thoreau writes,

> Instead of calling on some scholar, I paid many a visit to particular trees, of kinds which are rare in the neighborhood, standing far away in the middle of some pasture, or in the depths of a wood or swamp, or on a hilltop. . . . (137)

In the chapter on Winter he reiterates the theme stating, "I frequently tramped eight or ten miles through the deepest snow to keep an appointment with a beech tree, or a yellow birch, or an old acquaintance among the pines." (301)

Or again in *Walden*, he writes the following admonition:

> I would that our farmers when they cut down a forest felt some of that awe which the old Romans did when they came to thin, or let in the light to, a consecrated grove *(lucum conlucare)*, [who] would believe that it is sacred to

some god. (168)

The American transcendentalists especially seem to be soaked in this sense of a personal nature despite some inherited resistance from the culture at times. In a famous postscript to a letter to Hawthorne, Herman Melville writes,

> his "all" feeling, tho',there is some truth in. You must often have felt it, lying in the grass on a warm summer's day. Your legs seem to send out roots into the earth. Your hair feels like leaves upon your head. This is the all feeling. (434)

In a passage in *Whitejacket*, reminiscent of druidic tree worshiping and pre-Christian mystical participation in the harmonies of nature, Melville writes,

> Peace to Lord Nelson where he sleeps in his moldering mast! but rather would I be turned in the trunk of some green tree, and even in death have the vital sap circulating round me, giving of my dead body to the living foliage that shaded my peaceful tomb. (324)

Passage after passage could be taken from Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (the controlling metaphor of Whitman's poem is the mystical presence of Life to be found in the ubiquitous grass). But his "I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing" is an especially haunting tribute to this older sense of nature; the live-oak growing reminds him of manly love, uttering joyous leaves, standing there alone. The experience of the moss-hung tree leads him to thoughts of deep friendships. Throughout Whitman's poetry, one feels the presence of not only a green, vital world, but also of the ancient Green Man, trickster that he is, tantalizingly near.

Closer to our own day is Willa Cather who, in *My Antonia* writes,

> Sometimes I went south to visit our German neighbors and to admire their catalpa grove, or to see the big elm tree that grew out of a deep crack in the earth...Trees were so rare in that country...that we used to feel anxious about them, and visit them as it they were persons. (21)

In a remarkable passage in *O Pioneers!* (a title taken from a Whitman poem) she writes

> Marie was sitting under her white mulberry tree, the pailful

of cherries beside her, looking off at the gentle, tireless swelling of the wheat.

"Emil," she said suddenly—he was mowing quietly about under the tree so as not to disturb her—"what religion did the Swedes have away back, before they were Christians?"

Emil paused and straightened his back. " I don't know. About like the Germans', wasn't it?"

Marie went on as if she had not heard him. "The Bohemians, you know, were tree worshipers before the missionaries came. Father says the people in the mountains still do queer things, sometimes,—they believe that trees bring good or bad luck. (114)

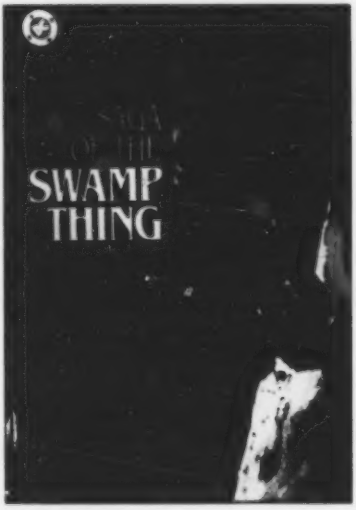
The contextual associations for all these passages are the struggles with human sexuality and ultimately fertility in the larger sense of the word. Within the very subtext of much of American literature we find repeatedly an older world view, a world view that hearkens back to the worshiping of trees and to the acknowledgement of a Mother who gives us life and of Her son, a Green Man, who mediates Her life to us through the ritual sacrifices of the seasons. The ancient mythic idea of the Green Man accurately described and charted by Anderson in his masterful study is an archtypal truth that continues also to live and to thrive in the American consciousness, albeit in latent form. We have inherited an ambiguous attitude toward the natural world from the mixed heritage of the ancient ideas in conflict with the Protestant ethos and the scientific mindset. As both of these world views have been challenged in our own days, the underlying mythic images of an animistic world have reemerged.

Unlike the high culture represented by the medieval cathedral in which many images of the Green Man are found, in America his image thrives in the popular culture in such places as advertising. One good example of the America expression is the evolving image of the Jolly Green Giant who stands guardian over the southern valleys of Minnesota as a counterpoint to his mythic enemy, the giant Paul Bunyan whose mythic locus is also Minnesota. The history of his image, as told by Pillsbury, is of a figure taken from Grimm's fairy tales who begins his career pictured as a hairy giant of the woods with a great appetite for green peas; he has since evolved into a leaf covered gigantic green grocer, guardian of his own fertile valley. He has mythically moved across that important divide that separates consumer from producer. The Green Man can be found in the popular world of comic books, too, in such characters as the Toxic

Avengers, the Hulk, or most especially in the Swamp Thing. These strange characters all are the result of science gone awry; some freakish accident had led to their creation, their "greenness," and all are invested with a mission to fight against the forces that seek to destroy the ecology of the earth, or in other words, the forces that seek to wound or kill their mother.

If there is any doubt about the reemergence of the archetype of the Green Man, listen to this text from a recent DC comic book, "Saga of the Swamp Thing:"

> This is the place. It breathes. It eats. And, at night, beneath a crawling ground fog with the luster of vaporized pearl it dreams....It is a living thing. It has a soul. It has a face. At night you can almost see it. At night you can almost imagine what it might look like if the Swamp were boiled down to its essence, and distilled into corporeal form; if all the muck, if all the forgotten muskrat bones, and all the luscious decay would rise up and wade on two legs through the shallows; if the swamp had a spirit and that spirit walked like a man...You can stand alone in the blind darkness and know that were you to raise your arm, reaching out to its fullest extremity, your fingertips would brush with something wet, something supple and resilient. Something moving...This is the story. Saga of the Swamp Thing. (back cover)



We have come full circle in our story. The world of nature a thousand years ago had a face by which we could communicate to Her through Him. By a complex historical process, influenced by both changing religious sensibilities and by scientific breakthroughs, and powered by economic realities, we defaced nature. But the process has been costly: human life now lived under the improvidential blindness of a Dr. T.J. Eckelburg gazing impotently over the "valley of ashes" that has become our technological progeny. The uprooting of nature has threatened the roots of our own existence, and this threat has generated an ancient, yet ever newly expressed image or face by which we may be able to once again

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communicate with the will-full world of nature.

During the 1830's the Harvard scholar Francis Parkman discovered that he was losing his eyesight from too much reading and scholarly work. In an attempt to regain his health, he traveled west along the famous Oregon Trail. One day he happened upon a lone Indian entranced in meditation before a pine tree sprung from a cleft on a precipice. Parkman describes the scene thus:

> The crest of the pine was swaying to and fro in the wind, and its long limbs waved slowly up and down, as if the tree had life. Looking for awhile at the old man, I was satisfied that he was engaged in an act of worship or prayer, or communion of some kind with a supernatural being. I longed to penetrate his thoughts, but I could do nothing more than conjecture or speculate...To him [the Indian] all nature is instinct with mystic influence. Among those mountains not a wild beast was prowling, a bird singing, or a leaf fluttering, that might not tend to direct his destiny or give warning of what was in store for him; and he watches the world of nature around him as an astrologer watches the stars.. as he gazed intently on the old pine tree, [he] might believe it to enshrine the fancied guide and protector of his life. (207)

The ecological crisis is helping us to see again; it is helping us to cure our own blindness. Like Parkman, we have needed to travel far away from the comfortable world of our acceptable thoughts and beliefs. We have needed to recognize that a lone pine tree does have a face and is not just so many board-feet waiting to be cut down and milled. We have needed to hear once again the ancient utterings of the Green Man in the fluttering of the leaves whispering of a world that is truly commensurate with our capacity for both wonder and hope.

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DISCOVERING THE GREEN MAN

Tom Motley

The Green Man kept finding me throughout 1990-1991 during my Fulbright Teacher Exchange to Derbyshire, U. K. Increasingly, I became aware of this leaf-covered face peeking out from side aisles and peering down from soffits and bosses in churches and town halls across Britain. As I began to pay more attention to his presence and to inquire as to his possible whereabouts in my travels, I realized that though repressed or ignored at times, the Green Man reemerges over and over in England's consciousness. Rural villages continue to celebrate nature through seasonal festivals, dances and the symbol of the Green Man, social reminders that plants are real, live, nurturing substances that must not be taken for granted.

Southwell Minister Green Man

Since returning from my year in Derby as a college art lecturer, the Green Man has been the central focus of my own artwork, and I have exhibited drawings, photos, and most recently montage pieces on the theme. In addition, the image has served as an effective fertility archetype in art history survey classes. Students respond to the Green Man on a number of levels. He is an appropriate male parallel to the various earth goddess images seen throughout the semester, a generally positive male symbol of fertility and growth, and he appeals strongly to their environmentalist consciences. The Green Man is always a sure bet to get students' attentions when discussed as a descendant of the Celtic severed head cults!

Surprisingly, the Green Man has received little attention in today's environmentally conscious climate despite his myriad appearances since

Roman times. For example, his image is carved no less than seventy times at Chartres alone. In England he survived missionary destruction, numerous Protestant purges, and Cromwell's campaigns, due no doubt in large part to his sheer ubiquity in the UK.

Contemporary interest in the Green Man can be traced at least to Lady Raglan coining the term Green Man in her 1939 article in *Folklore*, "The Green Man in Church Architecture." Kathleen Basford's *The Green Man* was published in 1979, and William Anderson's *Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth* is an immensely readable and informative Green Man anthology, written in the eclectic and enthusiastic tradition of Robert Graves or Joseph Campbell.

I saw my first Green Man in St. Oswald's, Ashbourne, during an August, 1990 visit. The same Peak District town sports a Green Man Hotel/Pub sign high above the main street, suspended from one of England's last remaining "gallows signs." Such structures served up public hangings and advertising simultaneously! Unlike the stern stone Green Man guardian pointed out to me by George Shaw, church verger, Ashbourne's downtown Green Man is a contemporary version: a 1990's hunter all clad in green, complete with green waxed field coat and green wellies; the image here has become the Green Man at leisure, playing with nature, an interloper, with his pet lab, Rover, no doubt.

My own hunt for the Green Man was well under way early on in the college term. Verger Shaw proved to be an excellent resource for this subject and other pagan objects and sites in Derbyshire. By October, my Derby college students were also hooked and would come to classes with splendid new sightings of Green Men from their neighborhood churches, town halls, and pubs. They were delighted when I showed them advertisements of America's Green Man, the Jolly Green Giant, famous promoter of vegetable consumption. I believe it is unfortunate, but predictable, that the Green Giant has been superseded by his small green sidekick, Sprout. Paradoxically, village locals often knew nothing of the Green Man, even though he might be earnestly observing them pass in and out of church each Sunday.

Unfortunately, America's introduction to the Green Man was via cable television's rebroadcast of a BBC1 teleplay of Kingsley Amis' "The Green Man." Starring Albert Finney, it is a fine Halloween-type yarn about a sinister Puritan doctor's ghost who resided at The Green Man Inn. The show did little to promote the image in a positive light. British media more often refer to the Green Man by the term "Father Earth," the more positive name preferred by Common Ground, London's active and popular ecology organization.

English variations of the Green Man include Robin Hood and his Merry Men of Sherwood Forest, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, and the

Oak King and the Holly King. John Williamson's *The Oak King, The Holly King, and the Unicorn* is a must read for anyone interested in the Green Man as attendant/lover/protector to the earth goddess and later as guardian/attendant to the Virgin Mary.

Especially popular with Norman church carvers, the Green Man image is most evident in masonry capital reliefs, carved stone faces, and wooden ceiling bosses, but it also shows up in weaving, metal and woodcraft utensils and furniture, and occasionally in stained glass. He was revived in fanciful, tragic and romantic depiction by late Victorian sculptors intrigued with Norman style. Anderson says "...he became a symbol of the late Victorian commercial spirit" (153). Ironically, prosperous urban office buildings and formal gardens frequently employed the Green Man in their designs. A handsome example is a long-faced, leaf-headed portrait atop a wall fountain at Wightwick Manor, donated by Charles B. Mander, wealthy paint manufacturer. The influence of Victorian artists encouraged American architects and craftsmen to import the Green Man. Many Romanesque Revival county courthouses and office buildings built throughout the plains and southern states included Green Men, known simply as decorative grotesques.

Most Green Man images are foliated heads, usually of oak leaves, but also of holly and ivy. Infrequently, he was carved as a figure within branches or vines. Sometimes he is presented as a-two-headed Janus-like character, watching folks enter and leave a church nave or town hall. Usually, his hair and beard are foliated and often vines grow directly from his mouth. Often his location is significant, playing a key compositional role near, for example, Madonna and Child as protector, or near Christ as precursor of rebirth symbol.

Southwell Minister Chapter House Head

In Yorkminster's chapter house, two birds are perched on a Green Man's face, feeding on berries growing in his nostrils. Chapter houses are attached to minsters and cathedrals. Usually round structures, chapter houses were designed for a reader to recite a biblical chapter each day to monks seated around the wall on a low, uncomfortable attached stone bench. Yorkminster's chapter house presents a row of splendid faces which guard the entry wall. Southwellminster's chapter house has no less than nine expressive faces which surround the upper wall, no doubt looking down reproachfully on any potentially

inattentive monk.

Ultimately, the Norman Green Man is descended from much older vegetation cults, particularly Dionysus, which decorated the sacrificial human body or body parts as votive scapegoat offerings or to create a vegetative deity image. Anderson says that "[s]ome of the best evidence for seeing him as arising from the cult of Dionysus is in tomb sculpture carved with leaf masks which may represent the point at which the dying are transformed into the universal world of Dionysus-Okeanos" (45).

With students, I share two clearly related ancestor-images discussed thoroughly in George Hersey's useful book, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, and Walter Burkert's *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*. Hersey discusses an early foliate head reconstructed on a column:

> Let us note that many of these myths about reconstructed victims are foundation myths for religious rituals; in other words, they are a precondition for the erection of temples. But Greek sacrifice could also involve the construction, or reconstruction, of the god himself as he presided over his offerings. Such scenes appear frequently in art, for example on the Lenaia vases used in the Dionysus cult. I illustrate an Attic red-figure stamnos by the Villa Giulia painter, c. 450 B.C., depicting two worshipers in front of the Dionysus image. Before the image is a table of offerings with two large wine jugs and piled high with fruit. The image proper consists of a shaft dressed in a pleated chiton and topped with a bearded mask. Above this is a crown and symmetrical spray of foliage. The likeness to a column with flutes and capital is striking." (17-18)

The Lenaia vase Dionysus torso, with long fronds of leaves waving up from out of his head, is a perfect lead-in for students to di Giorgio's drawn translations of Vitruvius emphasized the sacrificial head-trope in classical architecture. Hersey's descriptions are vivid:

> He translates into Italian Vitruvius' Greek terms, thus preserving, whether or not he was aware of their resonance, their references to personal ornament, body parts, and sacrificial elements such as bones, teeth, hair and the like. (84)

> The names Francesco gives the parts of the capital continue the troping process. The lowest element in the

> capitals... is the beveled throat of the column top (contractura, gola); the next is the acroterio, balteo, or benda, that is summit, or shoulder band or headband; topped by the hypotrachelion or upper neck . . . . (Hersey 86)

Francesco's exquisite drawings of the architectural orders illustrate the capitals and upper columns as if the head and upper body of the sacrificial victim are just inside the structure. Relating the architectural terms to actual body parts is a significant eye-opener for students.

My personal interests in the historic Green Man center on his appearance in Britain, obviously partly because of relatively easy access during my year in Derby, but primarily because I think the image is simply most naturally at home there. "Mind," one of my favorite sketches, is a drawing done from underneath a huge decorative mantle in the Cluny Museum, Paris. Two curious Green men look down from just beneath the mantle lentil. While sketching, I imagined myself placing large oak logs on the fire with the Green Men carefully studying me from above, like very serious forest wardens! Dead clever, that. Chartre's Green men are almost elegant. But it is in Ireland, Scotland and England that to this day the Green Man continues to reveal himself in British art and architecture, literature and music, and in rural village ceremony and symbol.

In May Day and Whitsun festivals, a youth may appear completely covered in leaves to lead the festivities. During a sketching trip to record the fantastic carved wood Green Men in the choir of Chester Cathedral, Verger Jack Poole told me of his family's participation in the May King Parade held on the first Saturday of each May. Jack's father was a basket maker who specialized in huge baskets for use in the potato fields. Jack's job was to gather willow with which his father constructed the large frame for the Green Man, featured in the May King Parade. The Green Man danced and cavorted at the head of the procession in this leaf-covered willow suit in Jack Poole's little village of Mobley Nutsford. In such ceremonies, it is often customary for the Green Man to mime a death, reminiscent of the ancient fertility sacrifice. The mock death, as with the Hastings Morris Men, may be achieved by attendant executioners wielding wooden swords. A town "fool" sometimes revives the Green Man who springs back to life to great applause.

Village holiday rituals involving young men or boys festooned with flowers or holly are common throughout rural Britain. One of the oddest is the "Burry Man" of Scotland, a figure covered from head to toe in burrs. Robert Graves described "the Holly Boy" in *The White Goddess*. He relates an old folk custom, which I learned about from Derbyshire friends. To insure prosperity in the coming year, the Holly Boy is expected to bring

a "sprig of green" (mistletoe or holly) with his first step across the threshold. In the Derby version, a kiss from the "dark headed" man for the woman of the house was added to the ritual. I performed the ritual as a surprise for my 92 year old next door neighbor in Derby on Boxing Day, and she delightedly told me she had not seen the custom since she was a child.

> "On Yule morning, the last of his (Saturnalia) merry reign, the first foot over the threshold had to be that of Saturn's representative, a dark man, called the Holly Boy, and elaborate precautions were taken to keep women out of the way." (Graves, 184)

Sir Harrison Birtwistle, Britain's leading contemporary classical composer, is a Green Man fanatic. Birtwistle has written an opera based on the Medieval poem, "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," and a stunningly expressive follow-up, "Gawain's Journey."

Gawain and the Green Knight are metaphors for the vegetation cult's concerns for the passing seasons, themselves symbols of the birth/death/rebirth cycle. Gawain's shield displayed the oak symbol, a summer sign. The Green Knight carried a holly-bush club, the winter sign. The beheading refers to the ancient sacrifice, the scapegoat; that death must occur for rebirth and new growth to begin. In the tradition of the speaking, singing, healing head, it is the Green Knight's severed head which reminds Gawain of his promise!

For the Celtic headhunter head-cult society, the head was the center of fertility, wisdom, and healing. Head and tree worship were often united at sacred wells. The Celtic head cult established legends in which healing wells were directly linked to sites of decapitation or the washing of saints' skulls.

> A most important aspect of Celtic religion was the head cult. There is strong evidence showing a close association of this cult with sacred springs and pools. . . .
>
> To the Celts the head was the most important part of the body, symbolizing the divine power, and they venerated the head as the source of all the attributes they most admired, such as fertility, healing, prophecy, and wisdom. Heads of important enemies were carried home and displayed on stakes. The most highly prized heads were even preserved in cedar oil and kept in wooden boxes so they could be admired by visitors. The Celts also used the head as decoration, or more likely as a protective device." (Bord, 7)

One of the most astounding and terrifying Green Men is found in the portal of Kilpeck Church in Herefordshire. Excellent carvers, trained at Santiago de Compostela, have created a head from whose mouth springs the entire vegetation composition of portal and tympanum. Tree of Life and all. The portal lintel points to and almost touches the Green Man's head. The lintel is one wide reach of repeated chevrons, the Norman symbol for water.

> The veneration of the head survives in many legends of heads that spoke by sacred wells, of Bran the Blessed whose head continued to be a delightful companion after he was decapitated. His head was placed on the site of the Tower of London to guard the country from invasion. (Anderson, 43)

> If the Green Man first arises as the disgorger and devourer of vegetation in the illumination of manuscripts, he returns to sculpture in the new form in association with three of the ancient sources: the cult of the human head, the healing spring and the sacred tree. (Anderson, 57)

The reverence for water and vegetation remains in village ceremony today with the many Well Dressings throughout Derbyshire. It is no accident, either, that these elements continued in forms of local rituals appropriately adopting the Green Man as mascot and name. Derbyshire towns like Burton Upon Trent are renowned in the UK for their wonderful handmade beers using Malthouse grains and pure High Peak District waters.

A resounding message in William Anderson's Green Man is that the image has reemerged at just the right time to remind us of our stewardship responsibilities for the care of earth's vegetation and water. And I think it most significant that the archetype of the Green Man, this head which now speaks warnings about our carelessness and reminds us of our dependency, is presented through individual portraits. Lady Raglan thought "...after much study and travel, that the Green Man heads were portraits, taken from real life" (Anderson, 18).

Chester Choir
Bench End

I am convinced that the Green Men who have found me throughout my search are portraits. Sometimes portrait types (angry, happy, etc.), but mostly unique faces. I've drawn them within arm's reach and photographed them with magnification and studied them through binoculars. I've returned

to meet the same faces again, and remain amazed at their individual voices, always rewarding me by directing my journey to new paths.

I met Jack Poole, winger and willow gatherer, while drawing a bald, two headed Green Man carved on the end of a choir bench in Chester. Our mutual fascination with the image's personality sparked a long, instructive conversation about rural folk customs. Alongside one of my drawings of the tragic figure, dated November 12, 1990, I've written: "This little bald headed green man seems uncertain — if he really wants to be a green man maybe a little terrified of himself!"

A wide eyed Green Man capital head sketched on the north side of the choir at Yorkminster looks absolutely bewildered by his own fertility as a wonderful, huge vine grows from his mouth, twisting round into very large vine leaves which continue all around the compound pier.

The most handsome Green man face is a carved fragment in the so called "Stone Museum" beside the abbey church at Jedburgh, Scotland. An almost renaissance-proud profile, the Green Man's face is framed with a large, swirled letter "C" of foliate leaves and vines like an historiated initial from an illuminated manuscript page.

Jedburgh Green Man

The Green Man has followed me to Texas, where I hunt him in buildings like the massive Waxahachie County Courthouse. This weeks ago, I spent a day photographing a series of individual Green Man roundel capitals who had found me in Tyler, Texas. The red sandstone covered heads had called out to me this summer from blocks away as I drove through town. Crowning a series of columns, protecting a covered corner entry, these funny Green Men were only rediscovered about a year ago when the 1897 Warren Building's new owners decided to remove the 50's style turquoise aluminum and glass modern screen covering the facade. Underneath, waiting for them, and me, were the carved curmudgeons. To date, the leafy face speaking loudest to me from this Texas Green Man chorus is a gap toothed little fellow with a grin like David Letterman's.

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TEACHING HUMANITIES COURSES ON THE ENVIRONMENT: PEDAGOGICAL SUGGESTIONS AND AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Robert Sessions

At Kirkwood Community College we offer a variety of courses that focus on the environment. Recently those of us who teach these courses have begun to meet to discuss what we are doing, and I believe we are in the beginning stages of forming a set of overlapping learning communities that involve courses and teachers from several disciplines in the natural and social sciences, literature and composition, and the humanities. While our courses are quite diverse, and environmental concerns play varying roles in what and how we teach, we are beginning to realize that we share many concerns, perspectives, materials, and students. This essay, which explores possibilities for teaching humanities courses on environmental topics, grows out of a belief that we in the humanities cannot "teach the environment" well unless we learn from and work in coordination and cooperation with other disciplines. In other words, I believe that teaching courses on environmental topics is inherently interdisciplinary.

The suggestions that follow are more than a teacher could use in a single course, and the recommended materials are more than you or your students could read or view in the course of a semester. Each of these suggestions has worked for one or another of us at Kirkwood who teach courses, or parts of courses, on the environment.

Some Suggestions for Teaching Humanities Courses On the Environment

Humanities teachers and scholars who focus on the environment will do their jobs best, I believe, if they look to the entire range of humanities genres and expressions. Perhaps I can be most helpful in exploring, briefly, these genre interconnections by suggesting some practical ways humanities teachers can construct and teach humanities courses related to environmental concerns.

I believe the single most important contribution the humanities can make to helping people become more environmentally conscious, and to taking seriously the tremendous moral issues involved, is to affect their **sensibilities**. It is no accident that every strain of environmental philosophy and praxis emphasizes the need for westerners to change their sensibilities, to experience the world in a fundamentally different way.

Advocates of Deep Ecology and Holism, especially, have focused on the need to get people into nature to experience the world on its own terms. Holists have focused on perspectives that emphasize systems and our places within them, and due to their concern with direct experience they offer us poetry and music as often as they do ideas and facts from the ecological sciences. Deep Ecologists have been accused of repeating versions of the mistakes of Christianity, so strong has been their interest in experiencing nature and transcending the ego, and they have been criticized by many for advocating a worship of nature that seems to ignore or downplay the value of humans.

While they have many disputes with one another, the many competing environmental viewpoints have brought to the fore a wealth of environmental poetry, literature, art, thought, ritual, and mystical practices that can be wonderful aids to deeper natural experiences for us and our students. Happily, I believe, contemporary environmental thinkers have ignored the academic tradition which denies the importance of affect and experience. Instead, these thinkers have given humanities educators permission, at least with regard to teaching the environment, to **integrate**: to bring together a great range of material and experiences from many cultures, ages, genres and disciplines, and to offer students an opportunity to become integrated within themselves and with their communities.

To move this integration into the classroom, I would suggest several activities and assignments. "Experience journals" have worked very well with my students. I ask them to spend a minimum of eight hours, preferably all in one sitting, being quietly in nature. I ask them to take notes and then to report, in whatever form seems most appropriate (poetry, painting, essays, stories, journals), what **and how** they sensed. That is, I want them to be as intensively aware as they can, of what they experience **and** of how their senses are affected by what, for most of them, is a new kind of experience. Preceding their nature "writing," we spend a great deal of time examining the work of a wide variety of nature photographers, thinkers, poets, literary writers, and artists; and we also focus on our senses on how they are conditioned by our habitats and our habits.

A related assignment several of us use is to have students interview someone who has lived a long time and can articulate how their own and other people's sensibilities have changed during their lifetimes. We have found that these interview papers are very good to help students personalize the dramatic changes that have occurred in this century, and for many it is doubly personal because they often interview their grandparents and discover a great deal about themselves and their families in the process.

A second area of concern for any humanities class that focuses on the environment is to get the **facts** straight. I have used two basic

strategies to try and help students with this: a horizontal, broad approach and a more vertical, in-depth approach. There are several good sources available that provide brief, accessible, and up-to-date discussions of current environmental conditions. I especially recommend the yearly "State of the World" report from the Worldwatch Institute. It not only presents a wealth of information about environmental realities such as fish populations, air pollution, or ozone depletion, but its analysis of the facts includes geopolitical, economic, social and cultural considerations, thus avoiding the nature/culture dualism green environmentalists warn against. I often have different groups of students responsible for informing the class about different dimensions of environmental concerns such as air pollution, deforestation, or agricultural decline. That way individuals or groups become "experts" on at least one area or issue while also becoming informed about others, and they often will build on their expertise in various projects throughout the term.

My second strategy involves the use of extended case studies. While this technique does not bring the breadth the first offers (though these strategies are not entirely incompatible, of course), it does allow the entire class to go deeply into one or several examples, and it allows me to focus my use of genres on one topical area. Recently, e.g., I have used Douglas Booth's book, *Valuing Nature*, which is a detailed historical and philosophical look at American attitudes, sensibilities, and values through the lens of the old growth forest controversies in Washington and Oregon. While working through this book we examine photographs of and artistic expressions about trees and forests, and I ask students to pick a wooded area for their experience journals.

One reality I believe we should never ignore is how we each contribute to the environmental decay and destruction we are studying. One of my physics colleagues asks students to do an energy audit of their own behavior, giving them a wonderfully integrated assignment wherein they calculate their daily energy uses into a common measure. I have had students compile their own versions of "fifty simple things you can do to save the earth." I am especially fond of another Worldwatch Institute book, *How much is Enough?* by Alan Durning, which has had a powerful impact on many of my students since I began using it two years ago. Durning asks us to look at how our consumer lifestyles affect the environment and our quality of life. He argues that on both counts we would be better off shucking our pursuit of happiness through ever-more consumption.

My colleagues in the social sciences have helped me realize the power of cultural and historical contrast for awakening students' imaginations to possible alternative ways of living environmentally sound lives. Many environmental textbooks now include works by and about people from non-western and nonindustrialized cultures, and I have been

introduced to a number of videos that help flesh out images of other ways of being. Richard Nelson's book on the Koyukon, *Make Prayers to the Raven*, paints a vivid picture of life among a people who have lived for centuries in harmony with a northern Canadian environment. My favorite video is from the BBC, on the Kogi in Colombia: "From the Heart of the Earth" is a powerful account of the environmental concerns of a people who have occupied a mountainous habitat for several thousand years, having created and maintained a sophisticated culture based on a sustainable lifestyle and economy.

I often have students incorporate case studies in their group studies of environmental facts both as a way to stimulate thinking for the whole class and as a bridge to discuss the moral dimensions of the environmental realities they are discovering. I have found that **local** case studies, rather than more distant ones, can be the most powerful examples to generate student activity and involvement. One of the hard realities of our environmental problems is that today we have "spoiled our nests" **everywhere**. To bring this point home, I recommend that students study such things as the realities surrounding their local water supply, cancer rates, waste disposal, or toxins in the environment. Such assignments help break down artificial barriers between school and the rest of the world and between what students learn in school and their personal lives.

The variety of activities and assignments available for a humanities course on the environment is endless. Once you and your students begin to look at the literature, philosophy, history, and art of western traditions through the lens of the environment, you will see long-familiar artifacts and facts in an entirely new light, and you will also discover hidden material scholars have overlooked. Great mystics such as Meister Eckhart, Rumi, Hildegard of Bingen, St. Francis, or William Blake seem less eccentric and marginal when one begins to comprehend the march of western history toward our current environmental condition, and they can provide visions that help us see better ways of being. Shadow movements such as that represented by Robin Hood, druids and other "green man" characters and symbols take on new significance as prescient forerunners of the contemporary environmental movement.

Most every cultural form of expression is being used by people concerned about the environment, and there are historical works from every humanities genre that could be germane to a given course. Besides literature and poetry, many artists in music and the plastic arts have and are expressing their senses of the human place in nature. I recently witnessed a wonderful comparison of Chinese and American environmental sensibilities through an examination of 18th and 19th century paintings from the two cultures. I was once again reminded of the primacy of sensibilities, which is why I encourage students to try their hands at artistic expression in my

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environmental ethics classes even though grades are based primarily on essays (mainly because I am not comfortable grading their artwork).

Last term the best student paper in my class was on the role of the media in shaping people's sensibilities regarding the environment, and students regularly foray into the domains of social and natural sciences when they do their local case studies. I have found that critical or democratic pedagogy is a natural with my environment-related humanities courses. The incredible range of genres, issues, disciplines, ideas, and dimensions of a humanities course on the environment humbles us and contributes greatly to an atmosphere of cooperation. More than any topic or course I have taught, I find that my students and I are together in this enterprise, sorting out and comprehending these complex and vital topics.

In short, just as feminism has sparked a new consciousness and scholarship, I believe that taking the environment seriously can reinvigorate our work and help us reimagine everything we do as teachers and as humans.

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The following bibliography uses four main criteria. The first is a central philosophical value used to distinguish various theoretical frameworks, an instrumental/noninstrumental dichotomy which requires a brief explanation.

One of the major points dividing many environmental thinkers from the mainstream of western thought on nature (and sometimes dividing them from one another as well), is the issue of instrumentalism. "Instrumentalists" view humanity as the apex of creation, and see everything else deriving its value from its usefulness to us. Among those who reject such an instrumentalist approach are Deep Ecologists, who see humans as one component of the complex world of nature, and Ecofeminists, who condemn the patriarchal, hierarchical, and ultimately oppressive behaviors which instrumentalism produces.

I have tried to note the school of thought represented by particular works at the end of a bibliographic reference. Additionally, I have distinguished textbooks from non-texts, I have listed most resources for faculty use according to disciplines or discipline clusters, and I have drawn a (sometimes thin) line between materials useful for teachers or for students. I have also included a brief section on videos and journals. Finally, I have offered brief comments about some of the materials that I hope will further aid you in deciding where to look for specific topics, genres, disciplines, or schools of thought.

There has been an exponential growth in materials about the environment, and this bibliography represents but a small fraction of what

you will find and might use in a given humanities course. I invite you to share your findings with others through future editions of the *CCHA Review*.

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Newton, Lisa H., and Catherine K. Dillingham, eds. 1994. *Watersheds: Classic Cases in Environmental Ethics*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Norton, Bryan G., ed. *The Preservation of Species: The Value of Biological Diversity*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Pack, Robert and Jay Parini, eds. 1993. *Poems for a Small Planet: Contemporary American Nature Poetry*. Hanover: UP of New England. A collection of 250 poems composed in the last decade.

Plant, Judith, ed. 1989. *Healing the Wounds: The Promise of Ecofeminism*. New Society Publishers.

Pojman, Louis P., ed. 1994. *Environmental Ethics: Readings in Theory and Application*. Jones & Bartlett. Excellent collection that emphasizes conflicting views.

Regan, Tom, ed. 1984. *Earthbound: New Introductory Essays in Environmental Ethics*. New York: Random House. Reissued in 1992 from Waveland, this collection of original essays is an excellent introduction to environmental issues.

_____. 1983. *The Case for Animal Rights*. Berkeley: U of California P.

_____, and Peter Singer, eds. 1989. *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Rolston, Holmes, III. 1986. *Philosophy Gone Wild: Essays in Environmental Ethics*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.

_____. 1988. *Environmental Ethics*. Philadelphia: Temple UP.

Scherer, Donald, ed. 1990. *Upstream/Downstream: Issues in Environmental Ethics*. Philadelphia: Temple UP.

Schnaiberg, Allan, and Kenneth Alan Gould. 1994. *Environment and Society: The Enduring Conflict*. St. Martins. Two sociologists try to resolve this enduring conflict. Comparable to Durning.

Singer, Peter. 1992. *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals*. New York: Avon.

Sterba, James. 1995. *Earth Ethics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. A good, eclectic collection. Well edited, but no introductions.

Stone, Christopher. 1987. *Earth and Other Ethics: The Case for Moral Pluralism*. New York: Harper & Row.

The Student Environmental Action Guide: 25 Simple Things We Can Do, by the Student Action Coalition. 1991. Berkeley: Earth Works Press.

Van DeVeer, Donald, and Christine Pierce, eds. *The Environmental Ethics and Policy Book*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

_____. 1986. *People, Penguins, and Plastic Trees: Basic Issues in Environmental Ethics*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Weston, Anthony. 1992. *Toward Better Problems: New Perspectives on Abortion, Animal Rights, The Environment, and Justice*. Philadelphia: Temple UP.

Westphal, Dale, and Fred Westphal. 1994. *Planet in Peril*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. A good, basic text: readings on topics such as wilderness, pollution, animals, and environmental attitudes.

Western, David, and Mary Pearl, eds. 1989. *Conservation for the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford UP.

Zimmerman, Michael et al., eds. *Environmental Philosophy*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. Excellent reader in radical environmental philosophy. But difficult for students. From contemporary journal articles.

Walker, Melissa, ed. 1994. *Reading the Environment*. New York: Norton. Great collection for composition or speech classes.

World Resources Institute. *World Resources: 1992-93*. New York: Oxford UP. Packed with data.

B. Other Printed Material

Abbey, Edward. 1968. *Desert Solitaire*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Abbey is one of the great iconoclasts (and enigmas) of the environmental movement. His work is uneven, but always interesting. Other works by Abbey that have strong environmental themes include *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (1975), *Abbey's Road* (1979), *Down the River* (1982), *Hayduke Lives!* (1990), and *The Journey Home* (1977).

Adams, Douglas. 1991. *Last Chance to See*. New York: Harmony Books.

Anderson, Lorraine. 1991. *Sisters of the Earth: Women's Prose and Poetry About Nature*. New York: Vintage. Excellent collection.

Andrews, Michal. 1993. *The Life that Lives on Man*. Taplinger Pub. Co.

Bass, Rick. 1985. *The Deer Pasture*. New York: Norton (1989). Bass' stories and essays celebrate nature and outdoor adventure. Other works: *Wild to the Heart* (1987), *Winter: Notes from Montana* (1991).

Berger, Bruce. 1990. *The Telling Distance: Conversations with the American Desert*. Breitenbush.

Berry, Wendell. 1977. *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. Berry has written fiction, poetry and essays all of which speak eloquently about environmental/ cultural issues. Other recent titles include *Home Economics (1987)*, *What are People For? (1990)*, *The Gift of Good Land (1985)*.

Beston, Harry. 1988. *The Outermost House*. New York: Viking.

Bookchin, Murray. 1982. *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy*. Palo Alto: Cheshire Books. The founder of Social Ecology has also written *The Philosophy of Social Ecology* (1990), *Remaking Society: Pathways to a Green Future* (1990), and *Toward an Ecological Society* (1980).

Booth, Douglas. 1994. *Valuing Nature: The Decline and Preservation of Old-Growth Forests*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield. A detailed, balanced, deep yet readable analysis of the old-growth forest controversy in Washington and Oregon. A terrific book-length case study.

Bormann, Herbert, Diana Balmori, and Gordon T. Geballe. 1993. *Redesigning the American Lawn: A search for Environmental Harmony*. New Haven: Yale UP.

Carson, Rachel. 1962. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Besides this classic work that almost single-handedly began the contemporary environmental movement, Carson has written several other notable works: *The Edge of the Sea* (1955), *The Sense of Wonder* (1956), *Factory Farming: The Experiment that Failed* (1987).

Commoner, Barry. 1990. *Making Peace with the Planet*. New York: Pantheon.

Dillard, Annie. 1974. *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek*. New York: Harper Collins. Dillard's descriptions combine a poet's sense of language with a scientist's eye. Other works by Dillard include *Teaching a Stone to Talk* (1982), and *Holy the Firm* (1984).

Drengson, Alan R. 1989. *Beyond Environmental Crisis: From Technocratic to Planetary Person*. New York: Peter Lang.

Durning, Alan. 1992. *How Much is Enough?* New York: Norton.

Ehrenfeld, David. 1981. *The Arrogance of Humanism*. New York: Oxford UP.

Ehrlich, Gretel. 1986. *The Solace of Open Spaces*. New York: Penguin. Also of note: *Heart Mountain* (1989), and *Drinking Dry Clouds: Wyoming Stories* (1991).

Ehrlich, Paul R., and Anne Ehrlich. 1991. *Healing the Planet*. New York: Addison-Wesley. See also their *The Population Explosion* (1990).

Eiseley, Loren. 1957. *The Immense Journey*. New York: Random House. Eiseley is difficult for students to read, but most everything he writes is immensely thought-provoking and thus worth the effort. Other titles: *Another Kind of Autumn* (1977), *All the Night Wings* (1979), *All the Strange Hours: The Excavation of Life* (1975), *Darwin's Century: Evolution and the Men Who Discovered It* (1958), *The Innocent Assasins* (1973), *The Star Thrower* (1978), *The Night Country* (1971), *The Unexpected Universe* (1969), and *The Firmament of Time* (1975).

Foreman, Dave. 1991. *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior*. New York: Harmony Books. Earth First! founder.

Glendinning, Chellis. 1990. *When Technology Wounds: The Human Consequences of Progress*. New York: Wm Morrow.

Goldsmith, Edward, and Nicholas Hildyard, eds. 1988. *Battle for the Earth: Today's Key Environmental Issues*. London: Mitchell Beazley.

Gore, Al. 1991. *Earth in Balance*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Gould, Stephen Jay. 1981. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: Norton. Many of Gould's writings are terrific introductions to scientific thinking and environmental sensibilities. Some other works by Gould: *An Urchin in the Storm* (1987), *Ever Since Darwin* (1977), *The Panda's Thumb* (1980), *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes* (1983), *The Flamingo's Smile* (1985), *Wonderful Life: The Burgess Shale and the Nature of His Place* (1989), *Eight Little Piggies* (1993).

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162:1, 243-48.

_____. 1977. *The Limits to Altruism: An Ecologist's View of Survival*. Bloomington: Indiana UP.

Heilbroner, Robert. 1980. *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Heinrich, Bernd. 1987. *One Man's Owl*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Hubbell, Sue. 1988. *A Book of Bees*. New York: Ballantine. About bees, but also about things like loneliness and solitude, life's rhythms, independence and interdependence. Also recommended: *A Country Year* (1983).

Jackson, Kenneth. 1985. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford UP.

Jackson, Wes. 1980. *New Roots for Agriculture*. Lincoln: Nebraska UP. See also his *Altars of Unhewn Stone* (1987).

Leopold, Aldo. 1949. *A Sand County Almanac*. New York: Oxford UP. One of the most important classics in environmental literature.

Lopez, Barry. 1986. *Arctic Dreams*. Scribner: New York. Lopez chronicles his experiences, often extreme and always interesting, in a haunting style that is part poetry, part muckraking reporter, and part visionary. Other works: *Of Wolves and Men* (1978), *Desert Notes: Reflections in the eye of the Raven* (1990), *Crossing Open Ground* (1989).

Lovelock, James. 1988. *The Ages of Gaia: A Biography of our Living Earth*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

McPhee, John. 1989. *The Control of Nature*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. McPhee is among the best of contemporary nature writers. Among his other works are *In Suspect Terrain* (1983), *Looking for a Ship* (1990), *Rising from the Plains* (1986), *Survival of the Bark Canoe* (1975), *Coming into the Country* (1977), *Encounters with the Archdruid* (1971), *Oranges* (1967), *Pieces of the Frame* (1963, 1975), *The Pine Barrens* (1967, 1981), *The John McPhee Reader* (1965, 1977), *Table of Contents* (1985).

McKibben, Bill. 1989. *The End of Nature*. New York: Random. A striking thesis about what it means for us that we dominate nature in such a way that we have ended nature as a concept and reality beyond us. His *The Age of Missing Information* (1993) discusses the profoundly important knowledge we cannot get from television (or internet, for that matter).

McMullen, James P. 1985. *Cry of the Panther*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Mills, Stephanie. 1990. *In Praise of Nature*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press. A wonderful set of essays, and includes a fine bibliography.

Mowat, Farley. 1963. *Never Cry Wolf*. New York: Little, Brown.

Myers, Norman, ed. 1985. *The Gaia Atlas of Planet Management*. London: Pan Books.

Nash, Roderick Frazier. 1967. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale UP. Essential reading. See also Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness*.

Neihardt, John G. 1932. *Black Elk Speaks*. New York: Morrow. One more context where this classic book fits.

Olson, Sigurd. 1987. *Songs of the North*. New York: Penguin. A man I knew and greatly admired, Olson's writing and activism helped preserve large tracts of northern Minnesota. Other writings: *The Faces of the Great Lakes* (1977), *Runes of the North* (1963), *Listening Point* (1958), *The Lonely Land* (1961), *Open Horizons* (1969), *Wilderness Songs* (1956).

Reid, Walter V. 1989. *Keeping Options Alive: The Scientific Basis for Conserving Biodiversity*. Washington, DC: World Resources Institute.

Rifkin, Jeremy. 1992. *Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Culture*. New York: Dutton. See also his *Algeny* (1983) and *Entropy* (1989).

Roberts, Elizabeth, and Elias Amidon. 1991. *Earth Prayers from Around the World*. San Francisco: Harper & Row. If you're looking for a terrific way to affect student sensibilities through historical and multicultural artifacts, try this priceless little collection of prayers.

Scarce, Rik. 1990. *Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement*. Chicago: The Noble Press.

Schumacher, E.F. 1973. *Small is Beautiful*. New York: Perennial.

Scientific American, Sept. 1989. Special Issue: "Managing Planet Earth."

Snyder, Gary. 1990. *The Practice of the Wild*. San Francisco: North Point Press. One of the leading writers in the environmental movement, Snyder is a Buddhist and a Deep Ecologist who is most famous for his poetry. Some collections: *Turtle Island* (1974), The Old Ways (1977).

Thomas, Lewis. 1974. *The Lives of a Cell*. New York: Bantam.

Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden*.

Twain, Mark. *Life on the Mississippi*.

Williams, Terry Tempest. 1984. *The Secret Language of Snow*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. Also, *Refuge* (1991).

Wilson, Edward O. 1992. *The Diversity of Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP. A lucid, powerful exploration of biodiversity. See also his *Biophilia* (1984), and *Biodiversity* (1988).

C. Journals

The Ecologist. Filled with news and case studies about the environment from around the world.

Environmental Ethics. Now in its sixteenth year, this interdisciplinary journal consistently has provided ground-breaking essays in environmental thought. Although mainly written by and for professional philosophers, many pieces are by people from other fields, and with some help most entries are accessible to students.

Environmental Review. The writing in this journal tends to be less sophisticated than found in *Environmental Ethics*, and it provides a wider array of more easily read material.

Harbinger. A lively journal filled with thought-provoking material for and from the humanities.

Inquiry. An international journal of thought that consistently has seminal essays by environmental thinkers. Arne Naess, the editor, is a main guru of Deep Ecology.

Nature Conservancy. A mainstay of preservationist thought. Quite accessible for students. Filled with case studies.

The Trumpeter. A little-known journal that has had a powerful impact on radical environmental thought.

II. For Teachers

A. Anthropology

Allen, Paula Gunn. 1986. *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Tradition*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Collins, June McCormick. 1960. *Valley of the Spirits: The Upper Skagit Indians of Western Washington*. Seattle: U of Washington Press.

Callicott, J. Baird. *Earth's Insights: A Multicultural Survey of Ecological Ethics from the Mediterranean Basin to the Australian Outback*. Berkeley: U of California Press. Could be used as a textbook.

Eliade, Mircea. *Cosmos and History* (1959), and *Myth and Reality* (1963).

Fox, Stephen. 1985. *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy*. Madison: U of Wisconsin Press.

Hyde, Lewis. *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (1979).

Luther, Calvin Martin. 1978. *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade*. Berkeley: U. of California Press. His recent book, *In the Spirit of the Earth: Rethinking History and Time* (1992) is a fascinating view of human societies and their environmental world views.

Nelson, Richard. 1989. *The Island Within*. San Francisco: North Point Books. See also his *Make Prayers to the Raven* (1988).

Sahlins, Marshall. *Islands of History* (1985), and *Stone Age Economics* (1972).

Shepard, Paul. *The Sacred Paw: The Bear in Nature, Myth, and Literature* (1985), and *The Tender Carnivore and the Sacred Game* (1973).

B. History

Bramwell, Anna. 1989. *Ecology in the 20th Century: A History*. New Haven: Yale UP.

Merchant, Carolyn. 1980. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Nash, Roderick F. 1989. *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics*. Madison: U of Wisconsin Press.

Oelschlaeger, Max. 1991. *The Idea of Wilderness from Prehistory to the Present*. New Haven: Yale UP. Excellent book, great background for teachers and students alike.

Passmore, John. 1974. *Man's Responsibility for Nature*. London: Duckworth.

Pepper, David. 1984. *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism*. London: Croom Helm.

Rockefeller, Steven C. , and John C. Elder, eds. 1992. *Spirit and Nature: Why the Environment is a Religious Issue*. Boston: Beacon.

Scheffer, Victor. 1991. *The Shaping of Environmentalism in America*. Seattle: U of Washington P.

Shiva, Vandana. 1988. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India*. London: Zed Books. A strong Ecofeminist, Shiva provides a powerful cross cultural look at the environmental movement.

Toulmin, Stephen. 1990. *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. New York: Free Press.

White, Lynn Jr. "The Historical Roots of our Ecologic Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967): 1203–07.

Worster, Donald. 1977. *Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology*. New edition: *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.

_____. 1988. *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

C. Literature and Poetry

Bly, Robert, ed. 1980. *News of the Universe: Poems of Twofold Consciousness*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Brandon, William. *The Magic World: American Indian Songs and Poems* (1971).

Bringhurst, Robert. *Beauty of the Weapons* (1982) and *Pieces of Map, Pieces of Music* (1986).

Hughes, Ted. 1982. *New Selected Poems*.

Momaday, N. Scott. *Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), *House Made of Dawn* (1986), and *The Names* (1987).

Oliver, Mary. *Twelve Moons* (1972), *American Primitive* (1978), and *Dream Work* (1986).

Tedlock, Dennis. *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians* (1972).

Welch, James. *Winter in the Blood* (1974), and *The Ancient Child* (1989).

D. Philosophy

Arnold, Ron. 1987. *Ecology Wars: Environmentalism as If People Mattered*. Bellevue, WA: Free Enterprise Press. An anti-environmentalist and self-appointed leader of the group known as Wise Use. For a more thoughtful response to radical environmentalism, see Martin Lewis, *Green Delusions*.

Brennan, Andrew. 1989. *Thinking About Nature: An Investigation of Nature, Value and Ecology*. Athens: U of Georgia Press.

Callicott, J. Baird, ed. 1987. *Companion to the Sand County Almanac*. Madison: U of Wisconsin Press. Also, *In Defense of the Land Ethic* (1989). Callicott is a leading environmental philosopher who is the finest interpreter of Leopold writing today.

Davis, Donald E. 1989. *Ecophilosophy: A Field Guide to the Literature*. San Pedro, CA: R. and E. Miles.

Devall, Bill, and George Sessions. 1985. *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books.

Devall, Bill. 1988. *Simple in Means, Rich in Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books.

Ekersley, Robyn. 1992. *Environmentalism and Political Theory*: Toward an Ecocentric Approach. Albany: SUNY Press.

Fox, Warwick. 1990. *Toward a Transpersonal Ecology: Developing New Foundations for Environmentalism*. Boston & London: Shambhala. In its own right an original book, Fox's work is also an excellent introduction to Deep Ecology. Good bibliography.

Gray, Elizabeth Dodson. 1979. *Green Paradise Lost*. Wellesley, MA: Roundtable Press. Ecofeminst.

Heresies #13: Feminism and Ecology 4 (1981)

Hypatia. Special issue on Ecological Feminism 6 (Spring, 1991).

Johnston, Lawrence E. 1991. *A Morally Deep World: An Essay on Moral Significance and Environmental Ethics*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Jonas, Hans. 1982. *The Phenomenon of Life*. Chicago: Chicago UP.

Kohak, Erazim. 1984. *The Embers and the Stars*. Chicago: Chicago UP.

Kovel, Joel. 1991. *History and Spirit: An Inquiry into the Philosophy of Liberation*. Boston: Beacon. Social Ecologist. See also his Age of Desire (1981).

Lewis, Martin W. 1992. *Green Delusions*. Duke UP. A clear and strong set of arguments against radical environmentalism by someone who, nevertheless, is himself a strong environmentalist. A must read for teachers, and could be used with students.

Meeker, Joseph. 1988. *Minding the Earth*. Alameda: Latham Foundation.

Merchant, Carolyn. 1992. *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World*. New York: Routledge.

The New Catalyst #10. 1987–88. Special issue on Women/Earth Speaking: Feminism and Ecology (Winter).

Norton, Bryan G. 1991. *Toward Unity Among Environmentalists*. New York: Oxford UP.

Rolston, Holmes III. 1988. *Environmental Ethics*. Philadelphia: Temple UP.

Sagoff, Mark. 1988. *The Economy of the Earth: Philosophy, Law, and the Environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. An economist, Sagoff writes with clarity, passion, and insight. A key thinker in the environmental movement.

Stone, Christopher. 1974. *Should Trees Have Standing?* Los Altos, CA: William Kaufmann. A philosopher of law, Stone peers through the lens of legal history and thought to offer valuable perspective. Other works by Stone include: *The Gnat is Older Than Man: Global Environmental and Human Agenda* (1993), *Where the Law Ends* (1990), and *Earth and Other Ethics: The Case for Moral Pluralism (1987)*.

Taylor, Paul. 1986. *Respect for Nature: A Theory of Environmental Ethics*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Westra, Laura. 1994. *An Environmental Proposal for Ethics: The Principle of Integrity*. Rowman and Littlefield. A neo-Leopoldian view.

Zimmerman, Michael. 1994. *Contesting Earth's Future: Radical Ecology and Postmodernity*. Berkeley: U of California P.

F. Religious Studies

Berry, Thomas. 1988. *Dream of the Earth*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. Berry and Matthew Fox are the leading lights in an offshoot of Catholicism called Creation Theology. Many of Berry's works are available from Twenty Third Publications in Mystic, CN, and are usually quite readable for students.

Bratton, Susan Power. 1992. *Six Billion and More: Human Population Regulation and Christian Ethics*. Louisville, KY: Westminster.

Conlon, James. 1994. *Earth Story, Sacred Story*. Mystic, CN: Twenty Third Publications. In the Creation Theology tradition.

Fox, Matthew. 1983. *Original Blessing*. Santa Fe: Bear & Company. Also, Fox's recent (1994) *The Reinvention of Work* is a powerful rethinking of basic aspects of modern western culture.

Hargrove, Eugene C., ed., *Religion and Environmental Crisis*. Athens: U of Georgia P.

Linzey, Andrew. 1987. *Christianity and the Rights of Animals*. New York: Crossroads. See also his earlier *Animal Rights* (1976).

Ruether, Rosemary Radford. 1975. *New Women, New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation*. New York: The Seabury Press.

G. Other

Adams, Jonathan S., and Thomas O. McShane. 1992. *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion*. New York: Norton.

Anderson, Perry, and Donald Leal. 1991. *Free Market Environmentalism*. San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy.

Bateson, Gregory. 1972. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine. For an update see Rodney E. Donaldson, ed., *A Sacred Unity: Further Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (1991).

Costanza, Robert. 1991. *Ecological Economics*. New York: Columbia UP.

Daly, Herman E., and John Cobb. 1989. *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Donaldson, Peter J. 1990. *Nature Against Us: The United States and the World Population Crisis*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P.

Ehrlich, P.R., and J. Roughgarden. 1987. *The Science of Ecology*. New York: Macmillan.

Evernden, Neil. 1992. *The Social Creation of Nature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Leonard, H. Jeffrey, et al. 1989. *Environment and the Poor: Development Strategies For a Common Agenda*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Milbrath, Lester. 1989. *Envisioning a Sustainable Society: Learning Our Way Out*. Albany: State U of New York Press.

Olson, Mancur, and Hans Landsberg, eds. 1973. *The No Growth Society*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Ornstein, Robert, and Paul Ehrlich. 1989. *New World, New Mind: Moving Toward a Conscious Evolution*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Sagoff, Mark. 1988. *The Economy of the Earth*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Tokar, Brian. 1987. *The Green Alternative: Creating an Ecological Future*. San Pedro, CA: R. and E. Miles.

Winner, Langdon. 1986. *The Whale and the Reactor: A Search for Limits in an Age of High Technology*. Chicago: Chicago UP.

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

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